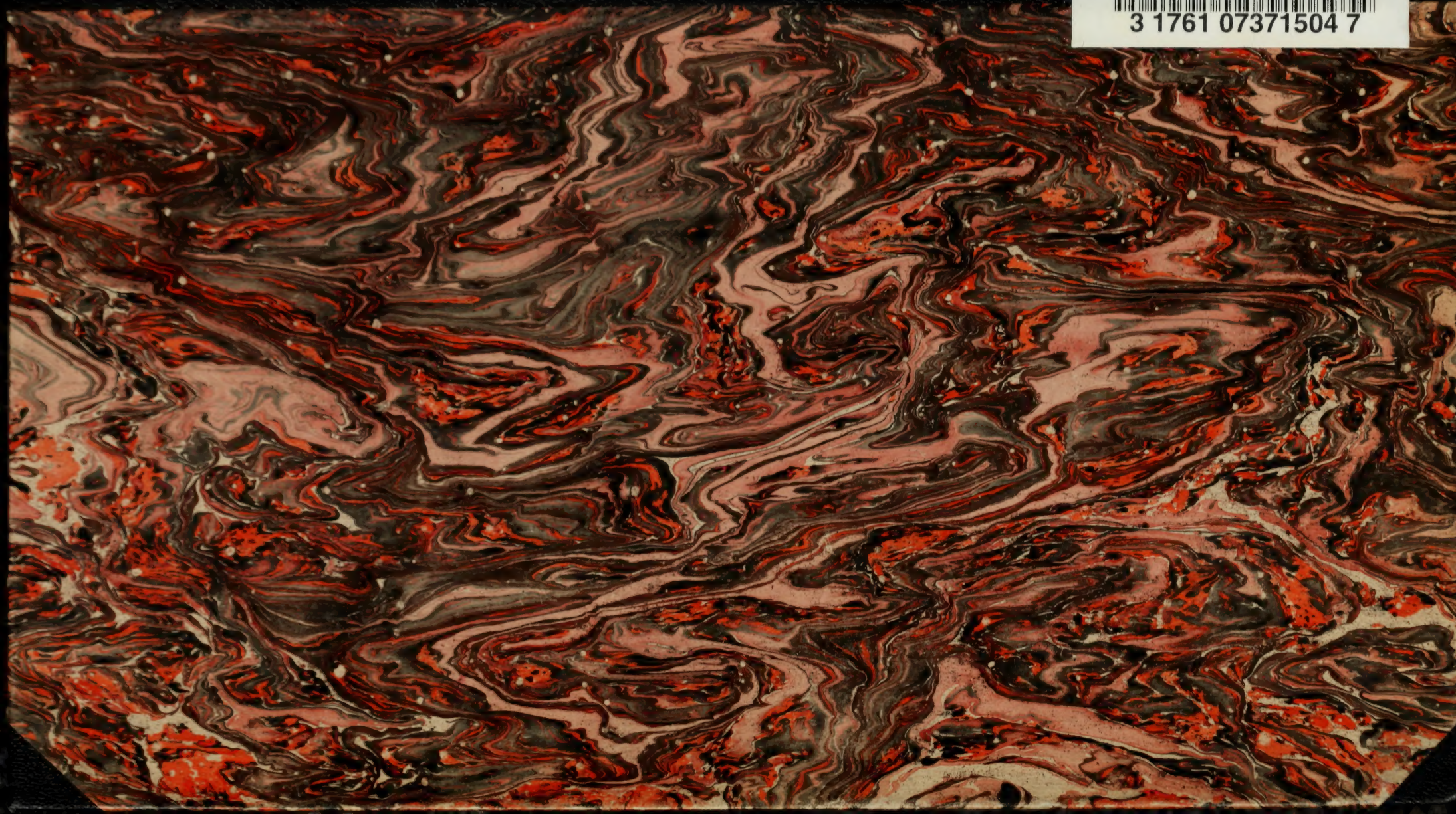

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of the

SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY 1 TO 6, 1904

ISSUED BY
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST PARTY

335/730

NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

74

SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 1 TO 6, 1904

Stenographic Report by

WILSON E. McDERMUT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Edited by

WILLIAM MAILLY

National Secretary

ISSUED BY THE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

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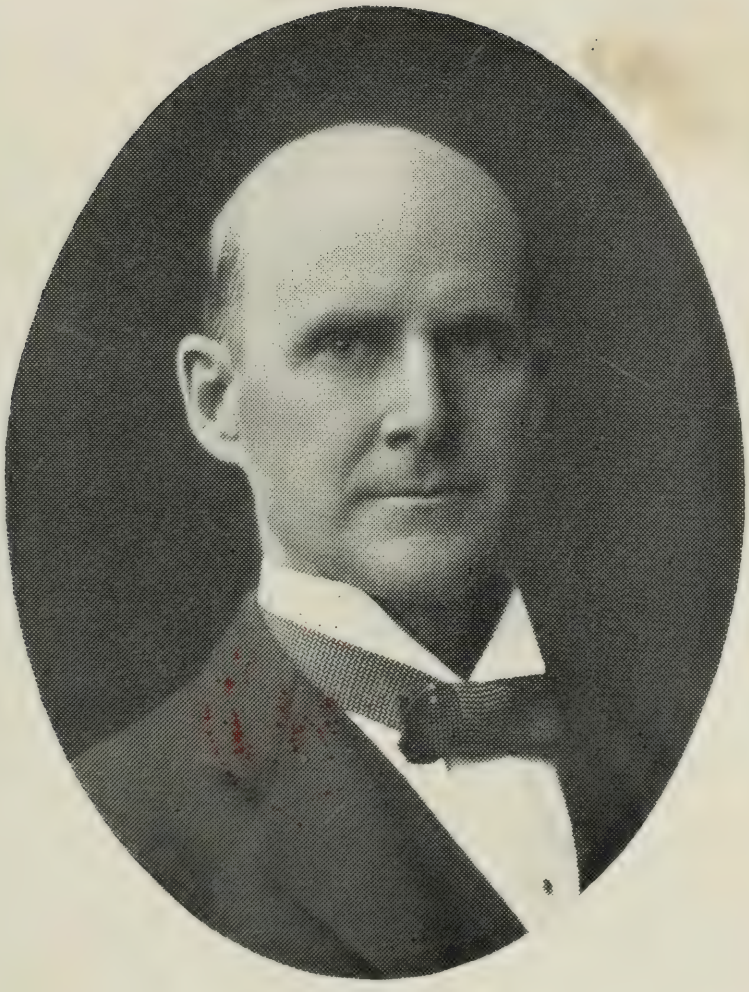


EUGENE V. DEBS

Nominated by the Socialist Party for President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904:

Eugene V. Debs

UGENE V. DEBS, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railway employe in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877 and three years afterward he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning it in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect June 26. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on

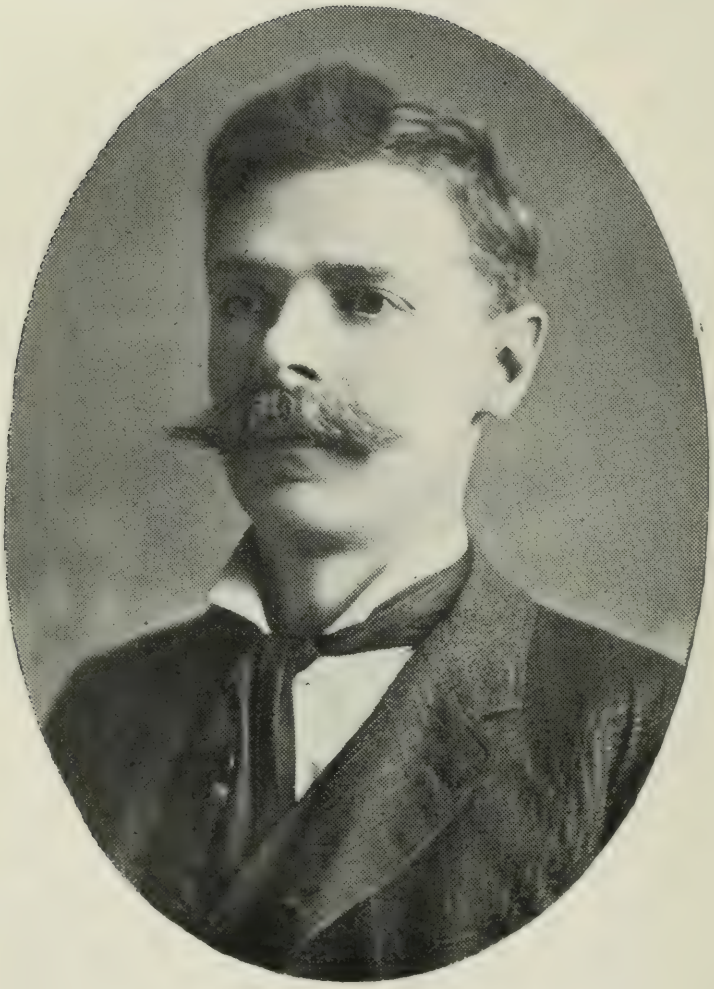
November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly, when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, which was afterward merged into what is now the Socialist Party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



BEN HANFORD

Nominated by the Socialist Party for Vice-President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904

Ben Hanford

EN HANFORD, of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a worthy companion to the presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist over ten years and a trades unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterward went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every city east of the Missouri river.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trades unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social Democratic Party (which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state) and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for governor. In the latter year the Socialist vote increased from 12,069 to 23,400, giving the party third place on the ballot in that state.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Railroading in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His "Jimmy Higgins" has appealed to all Socialists as a description of a type peculiar to the Socialist movement everywhere.

As a speaker it has been said of him, "Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand.

"More than this, he is a workingman, a class conscious workingman, in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called 'success.' Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

Acknowledgment

Acknowledgment is herewith made of services rendered by Comrades Charles Dobbs, Secretary of the Convention, and Charles R. Martin, Assistant in the National Office, in editing and otherwise preparing this report.

WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Convention Socialist Party of America

Held in Chicago, Ill., May 1st to 6th, 1904

FIRST DAY'S SESSION

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mailly at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904, at 10 o'clock. After preliminary announcements regarding railroad fares, hotel accommodations, etc., Secretary Mailly announced that the Committee on Credentials, when selected, would meet for the present in the lodge room on the second floor of the Revere House. The Secretary then read the official call for the convention, and before calling for the election of temporary officers, presented for the use of the chairman a silver gavel, saying: "Before calling for the election of temporary officers for the convention, which I believe will be the next thing in order, I am glad to be able to announce to the convention that the comrades of Wisconsin have presented to the Socialist Party, for the use of the chairman during this convention and succeeding conventions, this gavel, in the name of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin."

The announcement was greeted with applause.

Nominations for temporary chairman were then called for, and James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, and N. A. Richardson, of California, were placed in nomination. Carey was elected on a rising vote, and on motion of Richardson of California, the selection was made unanimous.

For Secretary, Charles Dobbs of New York was elected without opposition.

The Socialist Singing Society of Chicago then entertained the convention with the "Marseillaise" and other songs and the convention passed to the selection of a Committee on Credentials.

Committee on Credentials

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Credentials Committee.

DEL. STANTON (Ohio): I rise to ask this convention a question. Is it the sense of the delegates that a person who sends a congratulatory telegram to a candidate of a party in opposition to the Socialist Party should be recognized as a class-conscious representative of the working class?

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire to state to the delegate that that matter can properly be brought before the Credentials Committee. If any delegate has any objections to any person who may

be applying for admission here, such matters must be brought before the Credentials Committee, and upon report by that committee, settled in this convention. We cannot anticipate who may deposit credentials.

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): I understand that it is not a question in regard to any delegate, but it is a question to be settled in this convention whether or not in their estimation any person who sends congratulatory telegrams to political candidates in opposition to the Socialist Party shall be recognized as a class-conscious representative of the working class.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to state that we are not as yet the regularly organized convention of the Socialist Party. We are in preparation of organization. If the persons present desire to make an expression on that point, upon motion, the chair will have no objection to putting such a motion. But we are not as yet the convention of the Socialist Party because the delegates' credentials have not been received and have not been acted upon. We are yet, so far as being a convention is concerned, nothing more than an assemblage of persons who declare that they are delegates. However, the Chair awaits any action of the convention.

Upon motion of Delegate Work, of Iowa, the convention proceeded to elect a credentials committee of five members. The motion to make the committee consist of five members was reconsidered after eight delegates had been nominated, and when one of the nominees withdrew it was moved that the committee consist of the seven remaining in nomination. The motion prevailed and the following were declared elected as the Committee on Credentials: Garver (Mo.), Hayes (Ohio), Kronenberg (N. J.), Titus (Wash.), Floaten (Colo.), Bistorius (Wis.), Lee (New York).

By a large majority the delegates present resolved to prohibit smoking during the temporary organization, and the convention proceeded to the election of a Committee on Rules to consist of seven members.

The following delegates accepted nominations for membership of the committee: Penrose (Ark.), Work (Iowa), Will (Kas.), Stedman (Ill.), Bickett (Ohio), Gaylord (Wis.), Taft (Ill.), Slobodin (N. Y.), McFarlan (Mich.), Deutzman (Cal.), Robbins (Cal.).

The ballot was canvassed by four tellers and two judges appointed by the chair, as follows: Berlyn (Ill.) and White (Mass), judges, and Sieverman (N. Y.), Richardson (Cal.), Floaten (Colo.), and Rose (Miss.), tellers.

Pending the announcement of the result of ballot, recess was taken until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at two o'clock P. M. by Temporary Chairman Carey, but owing to the small number in attendance the recess was extended subject to the call of the Chair. At 2:45 the Chair called the convention to order, and the results of the ballot on the Committee on Rules was read, as follows: Penrose, 84; Work, 141; Will, 81; Stedman, 98; Bickett, 74; Gaylord, 117; Taft, 87; Slobodin, 119; McFarlan, 43; Deutzman, 43; Robbins, 83.

The seven delegates receiving the highest vote, viz., Work (Ia.), Slobodin (N. Y.), Stedman (Ill.), Gaylord (Wis.), Taft (Ill.), Robbins (Cal.), were thereupon declared elected.

The secretary read the following communications:

Cleveland, O., May 1, 1904.
Socialist Convention, Brand's Hall.
Heartiest wishes. May celebration.
Bohemian Socialists of Cleveland.

Comrades of the Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States:

The Socialist Saengerbund and the Liedertafel Freiheit of Chicago kindly invite you to attend a social arranged for the benefit of the delegated comrades from the different states at 55 North Clark street, in Trades Union Hall, Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

We shall be happy to meet the representatives of the working class at our headquarters at the stated time,

and hope to entertain them in a true fraternal way.

With best wishes, fraternally yours,
Socialist Saengerbund,
Liedertafel Freiheit,
Per O. Gritschke, Secretary.

The invitation of the Saengerbund was accepted upon motion.

Upon motion it was decided to confer upon Comrade Jas. S. Smith, Chicago, full power to select a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Report on Credentials

The Committee on Credentials being ready with a partial report, Chairman Algernon Lee was recognized. Comrade Lee prefaced the reading of the report with the following statement:

"Your Committee on Credentials has passed upon all of the regular and uncontested credentials presented to it. I will first state that in regard to the decision of the National Committee that no States should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in payment of dues, the Credential Committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation.

"The committee heard certain contests. There was a protest brought against the seating of J. Stitt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had sent a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones of Toledo, on the occasion of his election, and that this was such a violation of Socialistic ethics that it should debar him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the Committee and made the statement that he did not send that telegram; that he did not authorize its sending; that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been sent until a considerable time afterwards, but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson, of St. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in regard to this and other matters; and that he believed that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in sending it and using his (Wilson's) name along with his own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of it, and had he known of Mr. Nelson's intention to sign his name to such a telegram would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statements of fact upon the one side or upon the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. (Applause.)

"There was a further question raised in regard to Comrade Wilson's seat and the seat of Comrade M. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The State Secretary in his report to the National Secretary had included J. Stitt Wilson in the list of delegates and had included M. W. Wilkins in the list of alternates. He had issued regular credentials as delegate to Comrade Wilson, and had issued credentials as delegate, with the word delegate underscored, in writing to Comrade Wilkins. It was explained that this arose out of a certain irregularity in the districting of the state, the delegates there being elected by districts. There being two on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of whom, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommended that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates and ordered that delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

"In two or three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In these cases, the committee having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regularly elected, have recommended that the delegates be seated. I have here the list of the delegates and alternates who were recommended to be seated, and if it is the pleasure of the house I will read the list.

"In regard to South Dakota, the committee decided that though that state was by its membership entitled to only two delegates, yet it had so increased its membership that it was well entitled to three, and the commitee desired that Comrade Lovett of South Dakota shall be admitted as the third delegate, yet it understood it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the number to which that state was entitled under the exact terms of the call.

"The committee finds it necessary to hold a further session to consider con-

tests and irregularities, and it was voted that as soon as the convention has disposed of the present report of the committee on credentials the committee will then hold another session at once at a place to be announced from this platform, and any delegates who are interested in any cases of contests and wish to come before the committee may attend it at that time."

List of Delegates

The Chairman of the Committee then read a list of those entitled to seats in the convention, as follows:

ALABAMA—F. X. Waldhorst.

ARKANSAS—Wells LeFever, Wm. Penrose.

CALIFORNIA—J. L. Cobb, P. Deutzman, M. W. Wilkins, Paul H. Keller, H. M. McKee, J. J. Patton, N. A. Richardson, H. B. Weaver, Bertha Wilkins, J. Stitt Wilson, G. W. Woodbey. Alternate, Sam Robbins.

COLORADO—Wm. Ash, A. H. Floaten, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Guy E. Miller, R. A. Southworth.

CONNECTICUT—Cornelius Mahoney, Eugene Toomey.

IDAHO—E. B. Ault.

ILLINOIS—B. Berlyn, Sam Block, Chas. L. Breckon, Jas. H. Brower, E. E. Carr, John Collins, Wm. Dalton, A. W. Mance, Theo. Meyer, Thos. J. Morgan, J. E. Phelan, D. M. Smith, Jas. S. Smith, A. M. Simons, S. Stedman, M. H. Taft, E. Untermann. Alternate, A. Harrack.

INDIANA—Wm. Barrett, Eugene V. Debs, Matt. Hollenberger, James Oneal.

IOWA—John W. Bennett, J. J. Jacobsen, Carrie L. Johnson, John M. Work.

KANSAS—Mrs. E. G. Cogswell, Mrs. Luella R. Kraybill, Walter T. Mills, Thomas E. Will. Alternates, W. S. Neal, W. R. Parks.

KENTUCKY—Thomas McGrady, A. L. Nagel. Alternate, F. R. Markert.

LOUISIANA—Wilbur Putnam.

MARYLAND—Wm. A. Toole. Alternate, S. L. V. Young.

MASSACHUSETTS—James F. Carey, Herman Brandt, J. A. Keown, Geo. E. Littlefield, H. A. Gibbs, John J. Kelly, A. B. Outram, Dan A. White. Alternate, Alex. Hayman.

MICHIGAN—Wm. L. Benessi, C. J. Lamb, J. H. McFarlan, John A. C. Menton.

MINNESOTA—M. A. Brattland, A. N. Gilbertson, S. M. Holman, Nicholas Klein, Thos. H. Lucas. Alternates, Ed. Bosky, E. B. Ford.

MISSOURI—E. T. Behrens, Wm. M. Brandt, Fred H. Dilno, W. L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Carl Knecht, Caleb Lipscomb, T. E. Palmer, Geo. H. Turner, Hugh J. Raible, J. H. Rathbun.

MONTANA—C. C. McHugh.

NEBRASKA—W. E. Clark, William Mailly. Alternates, J. W. Hawkins, P. J. Hyland.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—James S. Murray.

NEW JERSEY—Peter Burrowes, Wm. Glanz, Carl Kronenberg, W. L. Oswald, Charles Ufert, David Rubinow. Alternate, G. H. Strobell.

NEW YORK—Warren Atkinson, C. P. Bush, Wm. Butscher, A. P. Byron-Curtis, Chas. Dobbs, Wm. Ehret, P. J. Flannigan, Julius Gerber, Ben Hanford, Geo. D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, Algernon Lee, Frank Sieverman, H. L. Slobodin, John Spargo, Otto Wegener, H. W. Wessling. Alternates, Gustave Dressler, Gaylord Wilshire.

NORTH DAKOTA—Tomnes Thams.

OHIO—Robert Bandlow, C. A. Bickett, D. F. Farrell, Martin Goss, Max S. Hayes, W. A. Stanton, W. L. Webster, C. E. Willey.

OKLAHOMA—J. V. Kolachney, A. S. Loudermilk, J. E. Snyder. Alternates, Roy Hayes, A. W. Renshaw.

OREGON—Irene M. Smith.

PENNSYLVANIA—Hugh Ayres, J. Mahlon Barnes, Geo. W. Bacon, Innes Forbes, Louis Goaziou, Chas. Heydrick, James Maurer, Ed Moore. Alternate, Robert Ringler.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Freeman Knowles, O. C. Potter.

TEXAS—John Kerrigan, R. O. Langworthy, E. B. Latham.

WASHINGTON—O. Lund, Hermon F. Titus.

WISCONSIN—H. J. Ammann, Victor L. Berger, J. W. Born, W. R. Gaylord, J. M. A. Spence, E. H. Thomas, Jacob Hunger. Alternates, H. W. Bistorius, Richard Elsner, F. J. Weber, W. C. Young.

Delegate Berlyn moved that the report be adopted.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I ask that the name placed in the report as a substitute for Delegate McEachern be not endorsed until the subject matter in reference thereto be submitted to the Committee on Credentials. My reason for

this is that the election of delegates for Illinois resulted in a tie vote for the last two names. The tie was settled by methods of chance. One of the comrades, of course, lost. It is thought that in the absence of the successful comrade, the one receiving the equal vote should be his substitute, and not any one else. Therefore, I ask that this be left to the committee.

Delegate Barnes (Pa.) moved to amend the motion that the report be adopted with a statement in writing of the case of Delegate Wilson of California. The amendment was accepted and the report of the Committee was adopted.*

Delegate Keown (Mass.) moved that the extra delegate from South Dakota be seated. Motion seconded.

Delegate Barnes (Pa.) opposed the motion as overriding the law of representation.

The Chairman ruled that this was a matter to come before the Convention later.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the motion that the report of the committee be accepted and the delegates named seated.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I want to know as a matter of information—the chairman of the Committee on Credentials reported that there were some states which, according to the action of the National Committee, would not be entitled to seats in the convention. I want to know now if this motion to accept and adopt the report of the committee will do away with that action of the National Committee in not wanting to seat delegates whose states were in arrears for a certain amount of dues.

THE CHAIRMAN: The supreme authority of the Socialist Party rests with the National Committee, subject to referendum. We determine our membership. The National Committee are simply our creatures. We are here. The report of the committee is to the effect that the delegates of certain states which are in arrears be seated. They are included in the general report. The motion before the house is to accept the report and seat the delegates.

DEL. WALDHORST: This is certainly satisfactory to me, and I suppose to other comrades, as far as this matter is concerned. But at the same time, I would like to see this report of Comrade Lee put in such shape that at the conclusion of the convention the matter can come to the comrades in the different states and be a part of the convention proceedings. If that is the case, that is all. That is the question I want to have settled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The suggestion of the delegate from Alabama is to the effect that the statement made by the Committee on Credentials relative to the states which are in arrears and whose delegates the committee reported favorably upon, be included in such documents as may be issued by this body. The question before the house is the acceptance of the report of the committee as read and the seating of the delegates named.

Motion put and carried.

The chair then called for the election of permanent chairman for the day, and the temporary chairman was made permanent chairman for the day by unanimous vote. The temporary secretary, Dobbs (N. Y.), was unanimously chosen permanent secretary for the convention. Upon motion, Ira B. Cross (Wis.) and F. X. Waldhorst (Ala.) were elected assistant secretaries.

No Smoking Allowed

A delegate moved that the convention re-indorse the action taken providing

*The papers in the case of Delegate J. Stitt Wilson, of California, were as follows:

Comrades of the Credential Committee:
Your attention is hereby called to the fact that Comrade Stitt Wilson, on the occasion of the last election of Hon. Sam Jones of Toledo to the mayorality of that city, sent to him a telegram congratulating him upon the success of his candidacy.

W. A. STANTON, Ohio.
Chl. 5-1-04.

To the Committee on Credentials.
With reference to the telegram referred to by the protest from Ohio, I wish to say that I did not send the telegram. It was sent by N. O. Nelson of St. Louis, with whom I had been in conversation about the various elections. I did not authorize Mr. Nelson to send the telegram congratulating Mayor Jones on his election over our Socialist comrades. Whatever the telegram contained, which I do not know to this day, I believe that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in coupling my name with his.
My attitude to Mayor Jones can be attested by the Toledo comrades, who know that I went specially to Toledo to oppose Mr. Jones in his campaign for Bryan.

J. STITT WILSON.

that there be no smoking during the convention. Seconded.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I regret a motion of that character coming from a man, as being out of place. From a lady delegate it would have a proper place. But it is born of sentimentality, and it is inconsistent with the comradeship that should exist, and the comradeship that exists in Europe between men and women under relations of a high order. A woman exercises all the rights that a man exercises as to the selection of those that are favorable to her. We as Socialists have no right to demand from members here any action to suit our peculiar ideas as men or individuals. She has a right to exercise the privilege that all men exercise. I have a comrade here who likes to smoke. It is not offensive to him. I am satisfied that the lady delegates who are here come here feeling that they have all the rights that a man enjoys, and they are equal to the men and can protect themselves, and it is altogether sentiment. this supposed protection of woman. She can speak for herself and don't have to have a man to speak for her.

DEL. UNTERMANN (Ill.): I take issue with Comrade Kerrigan of Texas. This is not a question of sentiment; it is a question of common decency. (Applause.) There are men and women in this hall, and it is a violation of comradeship to insist that those who do not like smoke shall be compelled to submit to it.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): As the comrade has intimated that we speak for ourselves, I will speak for myself. I am not representing the other ladies present. I have not objected to smoking personally, for the reason that I did not want to be set down as a crank. But speaking for myself, I make known to the comrades that I do protest against smoking second-hand smoke. (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as one of the lady delegates has spoken, there is nothing for the convention to do but pass upon the objection she has made. Now, I say that the gentlemen who speak on this matter should carry their views out into life. If they do not smoke personally at home they do not smoke in public places. But it is a Socialist principle that we do not recognize any sex, and that is the reason——

DEL. BARRETT (Ind.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor until this point of order is settled.

DEL. BARRETT: He has already spoken once upon that proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The statement made by the delegate from Indiana is correct, but there is no rule, and Delegate Kerrigan had risen and was the only delegate that had been recognized, and he still has the floor.

DEL. KERRIGAN: In the absense of a rule——

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of a rule Delegate Kerrigan can talk as often as he can get the floor and as long as he wants to.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I have as much regard for the rights of others, I expect, as any delegate on the floor, but I do object to the introduction of sentimentality to prevent the women from coming into our movement. I know that women do not object to anything in the conduct of men, providing they are within the rules of common decency.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. Our Chairman has time and time again ruled that he was going to rule this convention according to parliamentary provisions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas will make his point of order and not criticize what the Chairman may have said. (Applause.)

DEL. PARKS: We are under parliamentary law until we adopt some other rule, and we have a committee drafting a set of rules that will become a supplement and take the place of parliamentary procedure as soon as they report, and until that time we are under parliamentary procedure, and it has been ruled time and again in this convention that we are to proceed according to parliamentary rules. The point of order is this: that no man shall talk twice upon one subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is raised that under parliamentary law a delegate is not allowed to talk twice upon any one subject. The body will understand that not only have we not accepted any rules, but we have not even become a parliamentary body as yet, and under the same parliamentary law that the gentleman is acquainted with I make that ruling, and it has been held that in all parliamentary bodies of

this kind a man can talk as often as he can get the floor. The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Kerrigan has the floor.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): May I ask a question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the delegate.

DEL. MORGAN: My point of order is this: that when we made you Chairman we became a parliamentary body, and you are ruled by parliamentary usages.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. MORGAN: I desire to appeal from the decision of the chair.

The Secretary took the chair.

DEL. MORGAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, our Chairman has ruled that the delegate from Texas has the right to speak as long as he will and keep us here as long as he likes. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Mr. Secretary, I want to speak to this house. Now, I do not care as to the position that any of the members may take. Let us not confuse our personal views with the question. What is the question? It is not whether we like what Delegate Kerrigan says or what he does not say, whether he has talked twice or may talk a million times. The question is whether, in the absence of rules limiting the number of times a person may talk or the length of time that he may talk, if a person is recognized by the chair, in the absence of such rules he can talk as long as he wants to, and it is therefore the duty of this convention as soon as possible to get at the adoption of rules. I have attempted to assist this convention, but this convention has not been of any assistance to me in the matter. (Laughter.)

The decision of the chair was sustained.

Del. Carey resumed the chair.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): A point of order. I raise the point of order that Delegate Kerrigan of Texas has been discussing the philosophy or abstract theories of the Socialist movement, and has not confined himself to the smoke nuisance.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. (Laughter.) The delegate from Texas, who has got me into a lot of trouble already, will please confine himself to the subject.

Del. Phelan (Ill.) asked for recognition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order until I state that under the rule the delegate from Texas has the floor, but that unfortunately we have no rules that may prevent a person from taking advantage of it. It is not my fault. I must simply act in accordance with the general practice.

Several delegates endeavored to get the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Texas has the floor. Are there any parliamentary objections?

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Committee on Rules is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the convention would permit Delegate Kerrigan to say what he wishes we would have been through long before.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Which is the more important, for us to adopt rules or have a discussion on smoking?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor parliamentarily.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. At the session this morning there were two committees elected, a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Rules. After the Committee on Credentials reported, there was nothing before this body except to receive the report of the Committee on Rules. That committee is now ready to report, and there is nothing that precedes their right to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair decides on the point of order that this convention is not the convention that met before two o'clock; that we are the organized body of the Socialist Party regularly seated, and the meeting before was simply a mass of persons who claimed to be delegates. Delegate Kerrigan, you have the floor as long as you hold it parliamentarily, but I want to say that Comrade Kerrigan would have got through long ago if you would only let him say what he wanted to say.

DEL. KERRIGAN: It placed me in an unfair attitude. It was unfair to say that I was discussing a subject that was not in line with the motion. I was not. The point I wish to make is that this motion is in line with most of the foolish notions that have placed the Socialist party in a wrong attitude. I say that the lady delegates who are here are able to take care of themselves,

and I am sure they do not want to place themselves in the attitude of being criticised on the part of the Socialist party. They want to be in the class of comrades who are devoted to the welfare of the Socialist party. I have no desire to take up your time or harass the convention, as comrades seem to think, but I will insist on being heard when I am in the right, and that is all I have to say. (Applause.)

The motion that smoking be prohibited was finally put and carried.

The Chairman stated that the time for vacating the building (3:45) had already passed, and that if the rules were taken up they would consume several hours, but that the convention was the judge of its own acts.

Delegate Hillquit (N. Y.) moved that the convention do not adjourn until the committees are elected, and that it then adjourn.

It was moved to adjourn until eight o'clock Monday morning. Seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I am in favor of the motion proposed by Delegate Hillquit of New York. I do not think that this convention ought to consider of paramount importance the arrangements for a banquet.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. A motion to adjourn has been made and seconded, and that is the only business before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn to a stated time is subject to discussion. A plain motion is not. This is a motion to adjourn to a certain time.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): A point of order. We are at present under the question of the Committee on Rules, and no other subject can be introduced.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn a body without time or with time is always in order, and Delegate Spargo has the floor.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order. A motion made while another matter is before the house is not debatable. It is only privileged when there is no other matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: A plain motion to adjourn is not debatable, but a motion to adjourn to a specified time is always debatable.

DEL. TAFT: But it is not privileged when there is another motion before the house, and is not debatable.

DEL. SPARGO: I think it is important that this convention get down to its serious work. I am not in favor of considering as a matter of primary importance to interfere with the convention the arrangements that have been made for a banquet by the members of the Reception Committee. I think it was an act of ill judgment, to say the least, that they should have arranged a banquet in this hall which would necessitate the adjournment of this convention at an early hour, at such an important time, before the serious work of the convention had begun. Now, comrades, we have not come from New York, Seattle or California primarily for the purpose of attending a banquet. (Applause.) We have no objection to a banquet; we have no objection to smoking; we have no objection whatever to any pleasantries of comradeship that can be introduced into an occasion of this character. But primarily and above all, we have met to transact the business of the Socialist party, and that must come first of all, and for my part, if the banquet has to be abandoned, if we have to go without it, we will go without it rather than impair the efficiency of the work of this convention. (Applause.) Therefore I hope that the delegates present will not vote either for adjournment now until to-morrow morning or for any adjournment which will necessitate the leaving undone of things which ought to be done at the beginning of its sessions.

The motion to adjourn was put and lost.

Comrade Gaylord, secretary of the committee, made the following

Report of Committee on Rules

The Committee on Rules met at the Revere House and Comrade John Work of Iowa was elected Chairman. Comrade W. R. Gaylord was elected Secretary. The Committee begs to report as follows:

1. A chairman shall be elected at the commencement of each day's session.

2. A secretary and two assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.

3. A reading clerk and one assistant shall be elected for the convention.

4. A sergeant-at-arms and assistant shall be appointed for the entire convention.

5. Five (5) pages and five (5) messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the sergeant-at-arms.

6. Four (4) tellers and two (2) judges to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.

7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected, to consist of one member from each organized state or territory, who shall be chosen by the delegates of each organized state and territory respectively.

9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

10. A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

11. The standing Committee on Municipal Program appointed by the Indianapolis Convention shall report to the Committee on Municipal Program.

12. A Press Committee shall be appointed, to consist of five (5) members.

13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair.

14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

15. Discussions shall be limited to ten (10) minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

16. The sessions of the convention shall begin at 10 a. m. and continue to 12 noon, and from 1:30 p. m. to 5:30 p. m., and a night session as soon as the reports of committees are ready or have been called for. The night session shall extend from 7:30 to 9:30 p. m.

17. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called for three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before the question is put.

18. During the sessions of the convention no smoking shall be allowed on the floor of the convention.

19. Following shall be the order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the National Secretary.
3. Report of the Committee on Platform.
4. Report of the Committee on Municipal Program.
5. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
6. Nomination of candidate for President.
7. Nomination of candidate for Vice-President.
8. Election of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress.
9. Report of the Committee on Ways and Means.
10. Report of Auditing Committee.
11. Election of the National Campaign Committee.

W. R. GAYLORD, Secretary.

DEL. GAYLORD: I beg to report the following minority report signed by Seymour Stedman and W. R. Gaylord:

Minority Reports

A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Farmers' Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
W. R. GAYLORD.

The Committee on Constitution shall consist of nine (9) members, to be elected by the convention.

HENRY SLOBODIN,
Of the Committee on Rules.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I have another minority report:

The undersigned members of the Committee on Rules concur with the majority report of the Committee, excepting that portion of the report providing for a Committee on Municipal Program. We recommend the adoption of the report with this provision stricken out.

M. H. TAFT,
SAM ROBBINS.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee and of the minority. The chair suggests that you proceed to take the matter up seriatim, and upon those matters to which there is no objection that we act at this time, and pass the sections upon which objections are made and consider them later. Is there any objection to that procedure? If not, the Secretary will read the first paragraph.

Thereupon the Secretary of the com-

mittee re-read the report section by section, and sections 2, 3, 4, 6 and 12 were received without objection.

Discussion upon matters contained in the report of the Committee on Rules was upon motion limited to three minutes.

Section 1 was amended to provide for the election of a chairman and vice-chairman at the commencement of each day's session.

Sections 5 and 7 were adopted.

The minority report providing for the election of a Committee on Constitution to consist of nine members was adopted.

Section 9 of the report was adopted.

Committee on Municipal Program

Section 10 of the report was then read as follows:

"A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members."

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that that be stricken out as unnecessary.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I speak for the committee. There was a committee appointed by the Indianapolis Convention on Municipal Program, which was ordered to report to this convention. The Committee on Rules put this in, if for no other reason, simply to facilitate the handling of that report. It must be received and something done with it, and if for no other reason, it is necessary for that purpose.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am in favor of the report. I do not believe it is right for any delegate to this convention to ask that we rescind the action of a former convention, or that we refuse to listen to the report of so important a committee of the Socialist party in this convention in this year of 1904. I shall vote for the adoption of the report of the committee.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I understand that there are men in this convention who are trying to go ahead on the wrong track. They want to fight by knocking out this committee, and I want to warn those delegates that the question itself is a case of whether——

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I raise the point of order that the comrade is not speaking to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken, for the reason that it is impossible to hold a man absolutely to the question. I can only rely upon each delegate's judgment to try and talk on the subject. For what purpose does the delegate rise at this time?

DEL. BICKETT: I thought you would recognize a point of order when a comrade in making his speech referred to something not before the house. He is certainly not talking to the question that is before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair rules that when a delegate departs from the subject he is out of order, but he should attempt to keep as close as possible to the subject. Delegate Berger has two minutes and twenty seconds.

DEL. BERGER: I thank you for the twenty seconds, Comrade Chairman. I would move to amend the report of the committee, that we appoint a committee of nine to report on State and Municipal Program. We have a program——

A point of order was raised that the speaker was not discussing the question, but discussing an amendment that he desired to have carried, and not speaking to the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has a recollection of hearing the delegate say that he would like even to enlarge the powers of the committee. That is what I heard him say when he rose and I therefore declare the point of order not well taken.

The delegate insisted on his point of order on the ground that Del. Berger first offered an amendment and then proceeded to make a speech upon the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Berger has a minute and four seconds.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, again I will make another attempt. Now, Mr. Chairman, we want to understand that we are in a different state of brotherhood than we were four years ago. We are made up, and we must face the situation on a question of life and death for the party, and I rise to amend the report of the committee by making it a committee of nine for the purpose of reporting on state and municipal program.

The amendment was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion is that a Committee on Municipal Program of nine members be selected. A motion was made to strike out the entire paragraph. A motion was then made to amend the original report by inserting the word "State," so it will read "State and Municipal Pro-

gram." The question will come first on the motion to strike out, since it will practically settle the issue.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Mr. Chairman and Delegates: One reason the Indianapolis Committee was not under the rule required to report to this convention was because if we had a different committee created by this convention for the same subject-matter it would take into consideration any suggestions that might be made during debates and any suggestions that the delegates might make to the committee created by this body; and that committee, acting upon the information which they receive from the standing committee, could then report. That was to save the convention the trouble of receiving the report of the old committee and adopting it and then receiving the report of a new committee and adopting that. That was the purpose of the committee—I mean the majority of the committee. The minority of the committee desired to strangle both committees and the reason is very apparent. We are in this situation: either we must arrange our campaigns in cities like Chicago upon the declaration that we believe in a co-operative commonwealth, or we must be placed in a position where we can fight every single issue that has a socialistic aspect that is raised in the city. (Applause.) Don't applaud—that cuts my time down. I want to call your attention to one situation in the City of Chicago. The problem came up as to whether——

A delegate here raised a point of order that the question before the house was on the adoption of rules, and not a question of political program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question as to the advisability of the selection of the committee necessarily involves the objects for which they are to be appointed. The chair therefore decides the point of order not well taken.

The delegate raising the point of order appealed from the decision of the chair, and the question being put to the house by the Secretary, the decision of the chair was sustained.

DEL. STEDMAN: We had two propositions—one was the question of the election of a Board of Education. There were some in our party who agreed with those who thought that the members of the Board of Education should be elected by a popular vote. There were others who were absolutely opposed to it because it was under capitalism. We have in this city a question of municipal transportation, and there were members of this party in this city who took the position that they would vote in favor of granting franchises to the corporations until we controlled the entire country. Now, then, we should at least have a position upon which we can agree. For my part, I should be opposed to granting franchises to corporations. (Applause.) For my part, I believe the greater the democracy the greater and more accelerated does progress proceed toward our ultimate ideal. We disagree on that. Some members are in favor of nothing, until we have recognized Socialism which would come in by a grand cataclysm. Others believe in taking advantage of every means that transfers private ownership to public ownership of these industries. This motion to strike out is made to confine us in this city to the program that existed years ago—

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has expired.

A delegate from Pennsylvania moved the previous question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Comrades, I am very sure that whether we want any discussion on the question or not, the question of the municipal program and of the state program will be discussed in this convention on its merits. This report of the committee is simply a recommendation that the question of the municipal program may be presented in a regular, thoughtful form in order that we may discuss it—not to determine what we will do, but that we may have an opportunity to act with deliberation and with wisdom. (Applause.) Therefore, I am in favor of this report for the appointment of the committee—not on the merits of the question involved, but in order that we may do business decently and in order.

DEL SIMONS (Ill.): I move you that we do now adjourn until eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was adopted by a vote of 84 to 62 and the convention adjourned until next morning.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

Chairman Carey called the convention to order at 10 o'clock. Del. Hillquit (N. Y.) was unanimously elected chairman for the day and Del. Woodbey (Cal.) was made vice-chairman.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): If the convention will permit me, I desire to say that our Comrade Katayama of Japan is here in the hall, and I move that he be given a seat on the platform. Seconded and carried.

Comrade Katayama was received with enthusiasm as he took his seat on the platform.

A Committee on State and Municipal Program

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed with the report of the Committee on Rules. We are still under the three-minute rule.

DEL. GAYLORD, of the Committee on Rules: I believe we had reached the tenth item. "A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to that? Does anyone desire the floor on this proposition?

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): As a member of the Committee on Rules who signed the minority report recommending the striking out of the appointment of this committee, I ask your indulgence for the three minutes' time allowed. The striking out of this report does not involve the question as to whether we go before the people simply on a revolutionary platform. I am aware of the fact that the delegates are largely in favor of the appointment of a committee which shall report a municipal program. I hold, however, that now is the proper time to discuss whether there shall be a program, because if there is not to be a program the work of the Committee on Platform and of the Committee on Resolutions will probably be somewhat different if they are to embody certain points that might otherwise have been brought up as a program. Comrade Stedman and some others are in the habit of referring to this Chicago bunch as impossibilists, and I think I am perhaps charged with being one of that crowd, but I disclaim being an impossibilist in any sense of the word. I stand for the Socialists doing something. I maintain that if we get into legislative bodies we should go to work and take an active part in these bodies, but I do affirm that it is not the place of the national convention to describe and lay out, at this time at any rate, what shall be done in such a body. Now, I ask, what is the nature of a program? Is it the bona fide, is it the real intention that this program is simply to define what our representatives in these bodies shall do? If that is true, I assert that it will be absolutely futile. We cannot now lay out any kind of a program which will answer the purpose for four years to come. Things are coming up contantly which require action at once, and I will refer just now to our own case in the city of Chicago. It is a fact greatly to be regretted that the comrades of Cook county have seen fit to expel from the Socialist party our member whom we elected as alderman in the city council a year ago. That expulsion was by almost unanimous vote of the County Central Committee. Now, as to the grounds upon which that action was taken, without going into them in detail, I assert that there was not a single ground that was brought up which could have been thought of a year before, or even six months before. To mention just one, the immediate cause was the failure of our member to take action as directed in regard to the Iroquois Theater fire disaster, and I would like to know if any convention could predict a great calamity like that or what should be done in that case. We directed what should be done, and the alderman failed to do it. The other charges, if I took them up in detail, would require too much time, but they were of the same character.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): It seems to me the issue is whether the Socialist party is ready to say something definite on the questions that confront the peo-

ple at this time. Undoubtedly the questions of program, of the farmer, of the negro, etc., are going to come before this convention. It is time that the best intelligence in the Socialist party should express itself along that line in order that we may be able to act with the most wisdom. We cannot ignore these questions, and the proper thing to do is to go ahead and use our time in the selection of a committee that shall bring the best thought they are capable of bringing to bear on that question, submitting the results of their labor to this convention, and then let the convention adopt, accept, amend or reject as in the opinion of the convention the best interests of the Socialist party of the world would be advanced. We may just as well meet the issues as they come. If we are not ready to say something clear and definite upon these issues it is because we do not yet realize the situation. To say "I do not know" is not the final answer to the questions that confront the people of this country. The day will come when we shall say, "I do know," and when the intelligence of the Socialist party shall point the way out of the wilderness; when we shall be able to direct the proletarian conflict on every part of the field and point out the interests of the worker at all times. I hope that that day has arrived. I hope that we may take the leadership of the world, because we are the only party fit to take the leadership, the only party that can win the confidence of the proletarians by pointing to something definite, something that they can take hold of right now, something that shall indicate the course that we shall take in the years that are yet to come. When that hour arrives many of the difficulties and objections—stock objections—that every socialist agitator is met with, will be solved.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The speakers are not speaking to the question before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is that a Committee on Municipal Program shall be appointed to consist of nine. There is an amendment that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine. Delegates will please confine themselves to the motion.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am astonished at the drift that the argument has taken. I made a motion to strike out this committee entirely. My motive is this: I want the comrades to understand that I am in favor of a program. We are here in national convention and we are going to make a platform and a working program for our congressmen, and for our president, if we should elect him. But here is a question of municipal affairs, in a party that is organized on the basis of State autonomy. Where does that come in? Comrade Berger, in yesterday's session, pointed with pride —and he does not take more pride in it than I do—that they have got nine aldermen in the Milwaukee City Council. I take as much pleasure in that as he does.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The delegate is not speaking to the question, which is the merits of a program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. We have the broad subject, the necessity of the appointment of a committee of this kind, and it brings up the entire subject for discussion. We have limited our speakers to three minutes, and I suggest that it would be well for the delegates not to interrupt the three-minute speeches. (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: I accept the ruling, but I think it is a waste of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have made my ruling.

DEL. BERLYN: I ask your attention in particular now to the charge which was made that in Chicago we have got an impossibilist bunch. I do not think so. Our comrades in Milwaukee are teaching them a lesson by giving them results. We will accept what was learned in Milwaukee in the campaign, and we would accept a program twice as long as the one in Milwaukee if the results warranted. But right at this time I believe we are dealing with national affairs, and the question whether we want a municipal program for Chicago or Sheboygan or Squedunk should not take up the time of the national convention. We have got plenty of questions that the convention can deal with, and we should keep the convention to its own work and leave this question of municipal program to the municipalities, and with the example that we are going to get from Milwaukee we will get an education and the "Impossibilists," as they are called, will, too. If the re-

sults do not warrant it the impossibilists very probably will be victorious, that is all. In the State convention of Illinois we adopted a State program, and we are going to have it in Chicago. I stood for the program there, but I do not believe it is within the province of the national convention to forecast the particular question that may come up in a municipal campaign. It is there the phenomena is met, and there we will be able to meet it. And it was for the purpose of saving time and getting at rules which would keep local questions away from national questions so that we won't get mixed up that I made the motion to strike out and do away with that committee.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I am not rising to debate whether we ought to have a program or ought not to have a program. We ought to refer this thing to a committee and let that committee thresh out this subject of program and then bring in their report. We want to get down to work in this convention, but it seems as though it is ruled here that it is in order to discuss the merits of a program. Am I correct, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only inasmuch as the merits are necessarily involved in the question as to whether or not we are to appoint a committee at this time. We are not to lay out the work of the committee, but to speak to the necessity of the appointment of the committee.

DEL. PARKS: Then the way out of it is to let the committee report yes or no, and we will have a minority report and a majority report upon that question, and then we may take it up in due order and decide at that time whether we are going to have a program or not. Now, I am not fully decided upon a program. I believe that rather than saying what we will do when we get elected to the office, we ought to set before the people the principles that will be our guiding rules of conduct. (Applause.) Gentlemen, we cannot cross the river before we come to it. We do not know what we will think to-day or next week. We can only decide when next week comes. There has never been a revolution in the history of the world when the form of government that went into operation after the revolution was worked out before the revolution took place. Of course, we are trying to formulate some kind of program, and I hope we will refer this matter to a committee to decide and discuss the questions and bring a report in so that we can debate the thing properly at the proper time. I hold that this is not the proper time and place to take up and discuss the merits of a program.

Del. Spargo moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will first vote as a substitute, on the motion of Delegate Berlyn to strike out the recommendation of the committee. We will next vote on the amendment, if the first is voted down, to make a State and Municipal Program. And if that is not carried we will then vote on the original motion to appoint a Committee on Municipal Program only. The vote is on the substitute to strike out the recommendation of the Committee on Rules.

The substitute was put and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to vote on the amendment of Delegate Berger, that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members.

The amendment was then put and adopted.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Is that the amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the amendment, and it disposes of the original motion. We may just as well put before you now the original motion as amended, which now reads as follows: "A Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members." That is the original motion as amended.

The original motion as amended was was adopted.

Section 11 of the Committee's report was then adopted.

At this point the Chairman appointed Comrade Miller of Chicago Sergeant-at-arms, and Comrade Spears as assistant.

Section 12 was adopted.

Section 13, providing for the appointment by the Chairman of an Auditing Committee of five was amended to provide that the Chair's appointees stand, providing there was no objection by the delegates. The section was adopted as amended.

Speakers Time Limited

DEL. GAYLORD: "Section 15. Discussions shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring

to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak."

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I wish to offer an amendment to the report of this committee, to strike out the words "ten minutes," and insert "five minutes." Seconded.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would be in favor of the report of the committee to give ten minutes' time, except on discussion on the program, whatever that is, I don't know.

DEL. GAYLORD: You will find out.

DEL. MEYER: But every speaker that desires to speak on a very important subject by all means should have all the time necessary in order to state his views on the subject of the program. I move to amend so as to give each comrade who desires to speak on the program as much time as he desires.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment to the amendment to the effect that ten minutes be the limit of time in the discussion of all topics before the convention except on the program, in which discussion the time shall be unlimited.

The amendment to the amendment was seconded.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment, namely, that the discussions on program shall be limited to ten minutes instead of being unlimited, while other discussions shall be limited to five minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will take this as a substitute for the whole; that is the only way we can take it. The substitute motion is that all discussions be limited to five minutes except discussions on program, which shall be limited to ten minutes. Is there a second?

Substitute seconded.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I favor the original motion. I believe there are some important questions to come before this convention at least equally as important as the program, and I want all of those questions discussed properly. I am as busy as the rest of the delegates and as anxious to get home as the rest, but at the same time we are in national convention assembled, and while we have all the time and have had all the time to make speeches here at this convention, I hope we will not limit the time to five minutes on important matters that will come up. I favor the ten minutes' rule.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I do not see the necessity for the amendment to the amendment. If it is the sense of the convention the delegates can have more time to discuss questions that come before it, and I do not see why this question should especially have more time than other questions.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I think it is more important to talk upon questions of platform and program than on smoking. As the comrade from Texas says, one is no more important than the other. I believe both the program and the platform ought to be fully discussed. We ought to have at least ten minutes. I suggest that we leave that question open until the time for debating program and platform comes, and that we fix the time limits that we will confine the talkers to at that time. That will be Socialistic.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): It does seem to me that the questions that are coming before this national convention are sufficiently important to require at least ten minutes if a man is going to speak upon them at all. I would not object if the rules were suspended later, and fifteen minutes were allowed for a discussion on program. I believe ten minutes is sufficient for ordinary discussions, but I do not believe five minutes is sufficient, and I hope that the convention will vote down all these amendments and adopt the rule proposed by the committee, that we be allowed ten minutes. This convention will be historic. We can afford to stay here another day or two and thresh these important questions out, rather than stifle discussion and make decisions prematurely for lack of discussion, and leave unnecessary feelings in the minds of delegates, no matter which side may be defeated in the discussion. I am very much opposed to limiting the discussion to less than ten minutes. I feel that the matter is more important than some of the comrades seem to recognize, and I hope that these amendments will be voted down and the recommendation of the committee carried.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): There are some of us who believe that questions will come before this organization that are as important as the question of program, and whatever limit may be set that a speaker may occupy, I believe it would also be wise to state that with the consent of the convention further

time could be extended. Some of these questions can be discussed in five minutes and some may require ten minutes, and I do not believe the limit should be so cast iron in its nature as to shut off discussion of very important questions that will take some time. The suggestion that I wish to make is this, that we have no cast-iron limit; that the limit that may be set by this convention may be set with the understanding that with the consent of the convention further time may be allowed in the discussion of matters of very great importance.

DEL. GAYLORD: It seems to me these matters are matter-of-course questions. If you concur in the ten-minute rule, pass it and be done with it. When you come to program, platform, smoking or anything else, and want to extend the time for discussion by a speaker, do it at that time. Have a uniform rule all the way through, and modify it to meet the situation.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): My object in introducing this amendment was, first, in order to give all the delegates here an opportunity to be heard on all questions. At previous conventions the time limit, I believe, was ten minutes. The result has been that during the first four or five days questions have been taken up and discussed, each delegate consuming ten minutes or more, and then at the end of the convention or on the last day of the convention very important matters have been rushed through without opportunity for consideration because the delegates have been away from home for four or five days and were tired and wanted to get home. Now, if we limit the debate by the five-minute rule, and there are any important questions, we can extend the time under the rule so as to give an opportunity for all delegates to be heard, all those who wish to speak on the question. It is not for the purpose of choking off debate that I make this amendment, but for the purpose of getting through with our business as soon as possible and giving every question coming before this convention due and proper consideration as its merits deserve. Therefore, I submit my amendment.

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) moved to vote. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original recommendation of the committee is that the time for all discussion be limited to ten minutes. The amendment is that the time be limited to five minutes. The amendment to the amendment is that the time for the discussions be limited to five minutes except on questions of program, on which it shall be unlimited; and the substitute for the whole is before the house to the effect that the time be limited to five minutes on all discussions except on discussions on program, in which case it shall be limited to ten.

DEL. WILL: With the consent of my second I desire to withdraw the substitute, and I desire to concur in the recommendation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The mover of the substitute desires to withdraw his substitute. The question is on the substitute. If there is any objection we will proceed.

Objection heard.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute comes first.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I object to the withdrawing of the substitute. The substitute being offered after an amendment to an amendment, is not in order, and, therefore, being out of order, is not before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. A substitute for the whole, an amendment to an amendment, is in order. Let us come to a vote.

DEL. HANFORD: You have not ruled on the point I make. The point was that you have the original proposition, the report of the committee; that you then have an amendment; you then have an amendment to the amendment, and then you have this comrade's substitute after that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. HANFORD: Now, Roberts' rules of order recognize nothing except the original motion, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment, and the only way that the comrade can bring up a further amendment, or substitute is after one or more of those amendments have been disposed of.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the point of order not well taken. We are not guided by Roberts' rules of order, or we have not adopted Roberts' rules for our guidance, and it is perfectly parliamentary usage to act on the substitute.

DEL. KERRIGAN: Hasn't the report of the committee adopted Roberts' rules of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have not

adopted them yet. The substitute for the whole is now in order. It is to the effect that discussions be limited to five minutes except on questions of program, where they shall be limited to ten.

The question on the substitute was put and declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment to the amendment is now in order, to the effect that all discussion be limited to ten minutes, except on the question of program, in which case discussion should be unlimited in time.

The amendment to the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We come now to the amendment, that discussion on any subject be limited to five minutes.

A division being called for upon the vote, the amendment was declared lost by a vote of 59 for to 71 against.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now come to the original recommendation, that all discussions be limited to ten minutes.

Thereupon section 15 was adopted as recommended by the committee.

Section 16 was amended to provide for the convention to meet at 9 a. m., and was then adopted as amended.

Sections 17 and 18 were adopted.

The Order of Business

Section 19 of the committee's report, covering the order of business, was then taken up.

Del. Robinson (Ky.) moved to adopt this section. Seconded.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I move to amend that in the order of business following the adoption of the platform the nominees for President and Vice-President be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I move that the first order of business be the report of the National Secertary. Is that the order of business for every day?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is the order of business covering the entire convention.

DEL. GERBER: The report of the Committee on Credentials is a standing order, and as it is a standing order we can have that "No. 1," and consequently, the first order of business before the convention—because we have got the Committee on Credentials—is the report of the National Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then what your amendment really means, Del. Gerber, is to have the Committee on Credentials, whenever it has anything to report, to make the report every morning?

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): In the committee this matter was discussed and it was held there that immediately on the adoption of the rules, amended or otherwise, the very next order of business would be to carry out the recommendation, without knowing whether that would be the election of committees, or whatever should be necessary to carry out these recommendations.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I notice in the order of business there is a provision for the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress. It appears to me, in order that we might fully appreciate and understand the character of the work that lays before this congress, that we ought to have the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Congress before us. We ought to have it before us at a time when we want to elect the delegates who are familiar with the nature of this work. I, therefore, move as an amendment to the rules, that we insert, immediately preceding the election of delegates, that the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau be heard—that that be made the order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the Socialist Congress. I move that as an amendment to the report of the committee on Rules.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I want to offer another amendment. I move the amendment that the election of delegates to the International Congress be referred to the referendum vote of the entire membership of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we consider that, my attention is called to the fact that we have two amendments already. We will have to dispose of them before we entertain your amendment. We will, therefore, take a vote on the two amendments before the house, and we may then continue. The first amendment offered was that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President be inserted as the fourth order of business, immediately following the report of the Committee on Platform.

DEL. GAYLORD: May I speak for the committee on that point? The committee, in discussing this matter, thought it was better to have all the ideas that are to be presented in the campaign before us well in hand before we came to the very important matter of the nomination of the candidates. It seemed best to lay out the ground first and then choose the candidates. The matter of resolutions, and other matters connected with the program, might possibly affect some of these questions to be settled in the nomination of candidates and it seemed to us better to lay out the entire ground first.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Comrade Chairman, I think before the nominations of President and Vice-President take place that the convention should have settled on every question coming before it and know exactly where we stand before we ask any man to stand as the candidate for the Socialist party. It would be an injustice to ask any man to be a candidate before he knows what the party will require of him. If we leave it to the last every one of them will stay here, because they think, just as I do, that this is the first real convention the Socialists of America have had, and they will take great pride in participating in the nomination of our candidates for President and Vice-President.

DEL. MENTON (Mich.): I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee. I do not see why we should object to making the nominations as recommended by the committee. It has been said that we don't know what sort of a platform or what principles we are going to stand upon, but this is a Socialist convention and we are confined to Socialistic principles. We cannot change our platform, and I don't see what difference it makes whether we make our nominations first or last.

The amendment providing that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President immediately follow the report of the Committee on Platform was adopted.

The amendment to the effect that the report of the International Secretary be made an order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was adopted.

Delegate Oneal (Ind.) moved as an amendment that immediately following the report of the National Secretary the report of the National Quorum be heard, which motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Work (Ia.) moved as a further amendment to strike from the report the 11th paragraph of the section, providing for the election of a National Campaign Committee, which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. WORK (Ia.): In the hurry of finishing up the work of the Committee on Rules I did not notice the significance of the provision for a National Campaign Committee. The committee is not a simple temporary committee, but is intended as a permanent committee to last until after the November election. Now we have a National Committee to attend to that work. Of course, we cannot tell what the Committee on Constitution is going to do, and neither can we tell what we will do with its report. Neither can we tell what the membership on the referendum will do. But whatever we do with that report, we can at least assume that there will be either a Quorum or an Executive Committee or a National Committee of some sort left from the wreck, and it will be one of the duties of that quorum or Executive Committee or National Committee to perform the very duties which it was intended that this National Campaign Committee should perform. Consequently, such a committee is superfluous, and I therefore move to strike out the provision.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): I rise to favor the last amendment proposed by Del. Work. I think we are providing thereby a dual committee to perform the same labor, as Comrade Work has described. It was the understanding that the National Committee, or a sub-committee thereof, should conduct the campaign. Now, the Committee on Rules have provided for a separate and distinct Campaign Committee, making practically two committees for the same purpose. For that reason I believe in the striking out of that paragraph, as provided in the amendment of Comrade Work. In regard to the other amendment, I cannot see why the two cannot be embodied in the report of the Secretary, or followed by the report of the Secretary by the Secretary himself. I do not see the need of calling for the report of the Local Quorum following the report of the National Secretary for the reason that the Secretary's report is

so complete and includes all the work of the National Committee at least. Now, wouldn't that simply be a waste of time, to set off a special time for the report of the Local Quorum especially?

NAT. SEC'Y MAILLY (Neb.): Mr. Chairman, the report that I have drawn up for the submission to the convention embodies ideas and suggestions of my own, growing out of my experience in the national office. Now, this report was read to the meeting of the Local Quorum. The Local Quorum is not responsible for the report. I am responsible for that report, myself, entirely. My report does not cover the actual work in the office. That has already been covered in my annual and semi-annual reports. My report is in the nature of suggestions to the convention, concerning the organization, so that the Quorum has nothing to do with my report except that it heard it read, and I am entirely responsible for any ideas or suggestions in the report.

DEL. BROWER: A point of information. Has the National Quorum endorsed the Secretary's report?

NAT. SEC'Y MAILLY: I would state that the Quorum took no formal action on my report. They simply heard it and expressed an opinion. I would say one member does not agree with any of it, and the other members agree with some parts and not with others. So that they really could not take action upon it. The report embodies my own ideas entirely.

Delegate Oneal's amendment was adopted.

Delegate Work's amendment to strike out the clause providing for a Campaign Committee was adopted.

A substitute was offered by Delegate Gerber (N. Y.) for the committee's report was not seconded.

DEL. TURNER: I wish to renew my motion to strike out from the order of business the election of delegates to the International Congress, and move this be referred to the referendum vote.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I am opposed to that amendment for this reason. I believe there is such a thing as carrying the proposition of a referendum to an absurdity, and I think this is one of the moves in that direction. If we are going to carry out the referendum to its logical conclusion then we ought to adjourn before naming candidates for President and Vice-President. Our object in meeting in conventions of this kind is to select people to take care of the interests that we think require immediate attention. Delegates are selected who are familiar with principles and acquainted with the men, and nobody is better qualified to judge of the merits or demerits of the candidates for Vice-President and President, for National Secretary, for Secretary of the Socialist Bureau and for Delegates to this International Congress than the assembled delegates. I believe that we ought to do that here. (Applause.) I believe that we ought to vote this amendment down. The great trouble is that in our devotion to an idea or principle we sometimes go to extremes that make our whole course ridiculous and inoperative. How can the various members of our party, scattered all through the country, sit in intelligent judgment upon the merits and demerits of candidates whom they have never met and whom they may possibly never meet? We have the confidence of this membership or we would not be here. We are their free and untrammeled choice as representatives to this convention, and we, and we alone, are best qualified to say who shall be selected representatives to the International Socialist Congress.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I think I understand the spirit of Brother Turner's motion, and I would suggest to him just briefly that the action of this convention is in no sense final. I believe it to be the duty of this convention to nominate a delegate to that important meeting, as the comrade from New York has said, this convention is best qualified to judge who should be there. And yet I would call the attention of every other comrade to the fact that that action cannot be made final, and if Comrade Turner is opposed to that action, if he can incite or persuade the proper number of locals anywhere in this nation to register their protest they can demand a referendum vote. That makes the action absolutely safe and keeps us always within democratic lines. (Applause.) Therefore, I think it the duty of this convention to make the selection, and then, if you make a mistake, let the membership rectify it.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I want to rise to make an amendment to the amendment, that this convention name the delegates.

The motion received no second.

The amendment to refer the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was defeated.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Penn.): I move to amend by adding to section 8, "Election of delegates to the International Congress of Socialists," that such delegates be elected subject to the approval of the membership at large.

DEL. KLEIN (Minn.): Comrade Chairman, everything is subject to approval of the party, and that is useless.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no further discussion upon this amendment?

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I want to remind the delegates here that there is nothing practical to be obtained by this course. The International Socialist Congress convenes next August, and it does not seem to me that we can get this referendum in action to accomplish any practical results before that time.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): It appears to me that the middle of August is far enough away to get a referendum vote. If we nominate a candidate for President here, and only nominate one candidate, it is pretty well understood that we are nominating a man that the party approves of; but where we name two men for the position of International Delegates, certainly the rank and file ought to have a chance to vote on them. The 14th of August is not so close at hand, but that we can get a vote on it.

Del. Nagel (Ky.) moved that adjournment be taken until 1:30.

Upon the motion being put, a division was called for and pending the taking of the vote and the announcement of the result, the following telegrams to the convention were read by the Secretary:

"Comrades: Local, Hudson County, N. J., sends greetings and wishes you success in your deliberations.

FERDINAND UFERT,
Organizer.

BUFFALO, N. Y., May 1, 1904.

Socialist National Convention, Chicago:

Greeting from May day demonstration, Swartzmeyer's hall, by comrades of Local Buffalo.

S. D. P.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, '04.

Local Washington Socialist Party sends congratulations. Three cheers for Socialism!

LOCAL WASHINGTON SOCIALIST PARTY.

NEW YORK, May 1, 1904.

Socialist Party in Convention Assembled, Chicago:

The New York Socialist Literary Society sends greetings.

WM. KARLINSKY.

STONINGTON, CONN., May 1, 1904.

Comrades from Stonington, Conn., send greeting for comrades in Socialistic Convention, and congratulations for straight Socialist work. Hurrah for Socialist Party of America!

WM. INDERELST.

BUSHWICK JUNCTION, N. Y., May 2, 1904.

Comrades Local Queens S. D. P. New York assembled, send hearty greetings, hoping your earnest endeavors will help the cause.

HALM, Organizer, and
GOELLER, Secretary.

MONESSEN, PA., May 2, 1904.

Greetings from Belle Vernon Local, wishing success.

BELLE VERNON SOCIALIST PARTY.

CINCINNATI, O., May 2, 1904.

The International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America sends greeting and best wishes to the Congress of the Socialist party now in convention assembled. May the work of the delegates be of everlasting benefit to the proletariat class and to the credit of the Socialist Party of America!

JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
International Secretary.

The messages, especially the last one, were received with great enthusiasm.

After several announcements, the Chairman declared the convention adjourned upon a vote of 67 to 52 until 1:30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman Hillquit called the convention to order shortly before 2 o'clock and immediately recognized Del. White (Mass.), who stated that the Sergeant-at-Arms and his assistant, in the literal interpretation of their duty, had requested the wives of the delegates who had seated themselves with their husbands on the floor of the convention, to move without the circle, and Delegate White accordingly moved that for the guidance of the Sergeant-at-Arms during the future sessions of the convention, it be the sense of the convention that the wives of delegates who are not delegates to the convention be permitted, if they so desire, to sit within the convention circle.

The motion was seconded amid hearty applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not dare oppose that motion for reasons well known to the friends of the Chair. (Laughter.)

DEL. CARRIE L. JOHNSON (Iowa): Mr. Chairman, I move you that the motion be amended to include the husbands and sweethearts. (Laughter.)

The question was put and the motion carried unanimously, and the convention then proceeded with the regular order of business.

The Roll Call

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the discussion of the rules. Del. Gerber (N. Y.) moves as an amendment to the rules, the following:

"All votes to be taken of yeas and nays and when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when asked for by delegates from three different states."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire to amend that clause so as to make it read that instead of roll call being permissible on the call of delegates from at least three states, that the roll call may be demanded only by a majority of the votes of the convention.

The amendment was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to strike out the words, "by delegates from three different states," and insert instead thereof, "by the majority of the convention."

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I accept that as an amendment to my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have the consent of the seconder of the original motion to accept. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Mr. Chairman, so as to make it as easy as possible for the delegates to go on record, I believe that if three demand a roll call, then I believe a roll call ought to be granted. There are a good many of us who desire to vote, and we desire to show how we voted when we get back home, and I believe that the original report of the committee is all right, and I believe that we ought to accept that report.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not the report of the committee we are discussing now, Comrade Berger; it is the resolution or motion made by Comrade Gerber of New York.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Well, anyhow, it is a good motion. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I would ask for an interpretation of the original motion. Does it mean that the call must be by the unanimous call of all the delegates of three different states or by delegates from three different states?

THE CHAIRMAN: As the Chair reads the motion it signifies any three delegates from any three different states.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I just want to call Comrade Gerber's attention as well as that of the other delegates to one point, and that is that if a rule as was originally proposed by Comrade Gerber should pass, allowing three delegates from three different states to call the roll—to demand a roll call instead of having it by a majority, having a rule requiring that a majority of the convention only could insist on a roll

call, you would be in this position: that any time three men from three different states wish to make the entire convention spend its entire day in calling the roll, those three men would have the power to do it. Now, as a matter of fact, you are in this position: In order to do your business, in order to transact your business within any time, let alone within any reasonable time, you simply must have some proposition to prevent any individual, or small number of individuals, from consuming the entire time of this convention in roll call. As far as I am personally concerned I would just as soon go on record on any old kind of a vote, but I insist that we ought to have the proposition so that two or three individuals could not tie up the entire convention.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I want to make an amendment to the original motion, that roll call shall be had only upon the request of twenty delegates at any time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Upon the motion, so far as I am personally concerned, I have no objection at all, and Delegate Berger, or any other delegate, need not waste time in speaking of the fact that we may have to go upon record. We are willing to go upon record when the necessity arises for that, but, comrades, it is not right or proper that it shall be within the power of any two or three men to place the convention in the position that it will have to fritter away its time. That is why I objected to the motion in its original form. Now, Comrade Berger moves that twenty men or twenty delegates may so demand. I am equally opposed to that, because New York State has twenty delegates present, and the New York State delegation, if it so decided, could compel this convention to have a roll call, even if every other state was opposed to it. Now, then, it would be equally possible for the Wisconsin delegation and some other of the smaller delegations to do the same thing. I am perfectly willing that we be governed by the decision of the majority of the delegates present in this convention, but I am not willing, Comrade Chairman, that we shall be at any time placed at the mercy of the minority.

DEL. STROBELL (N. J.): Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that one thing is forgotten in this discussion. A roll call is the weapon of the minority to get fair treatment. Now how is the minority ever to get a majority to call for a roll call? Why, it is perfectly preposterous. In order to afford the minority a fair vote you have got to get some members of the majority opposed to that, to vote with them. Now, that isn't right at all. You have got to have some kind of a minority call for that roll call. You can't have a majority. (Applause.)

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): It seems to me that the call for roll call is not a weapon of defense on the part of the minority, but it is simply a weapon of obstruction. They are robbed of no rights whatsoever by being denied a roll call. If there is any individual here whom they want to put on record, let them ask for him and call him before the convention, if they actually feel that they want to pillory some person—if they themselves want to be on record, I am sure there will be no objection to their making an affidavit as to the manner in which they vote and report to their constituencies. When a question is to be decided, one way or the other, that question must be decided by a majority vote, and it can be decided by yeas and nays exactly as well as by a roll call. The roll call in the hands of the minority could be nothing but an obstruction. If you want to vote for an obstruction, vote for the minority to have the roll call. We saw how it worked at the Indianapolis convention, we saw things held back there through the power of the minority to demand a roll call. There was some justice in the proposition at that convention, however, because there it was a question of combining the warring parties and every side had its own rights. This convention is gathered to do business, not simply to get men together in some sort of an alliance, and in order to do business I hope that we will perfect an organization that will enable us to do business. (Loud applause.)

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Now it seems to me that allowing the minority the privilege of putting the convention on record on any important question is no more a rule of the minority than when we allow a minority to initiate anything that the state or nation may have to submit to. Now our local here may initiate the measure in local Chicago and they may ask for the endorse-

ment of five other locals, and they being in the minority, compel the nation even to take a roll call, and it seems to me there is nothing to object to here. If there is any important question here that anybody is afraid of going on record on there ought to be some means of making them go on record, and it seems to me that this motion is perfectly in harmony with what we have been doing. We allow the minority to initiate rules in the Socialist party, and the minority in this convention ought to have at least as much privilege as the minority in the states, upon the question of referendum.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It seems to me we are frightened over something that need not frighten us at all. Why not allow them three or twenty delegates, or any number they choose? It is the majority that finally decides how questions are settled, and the majority will rule on a roll call just as well as any other way.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that we now proceed to take a vote upon the previous question.

Del. Jacobsen's motion was seconded and adopted.

The two amendments were then put and were both lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The entire motion as amended will now be read by the secretary.

The Secretary then read the following motion:

"All votes to be taken by yeas and nays, and when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had upon the decision of a majority of the delegates voting."

The motion as amended was adopted.

A Committtee on Trades Unions

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further amendments to the rules proposed by your committee?

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I move that a committee of seven be elected from the Trades Union membership on the floor of the convention to consider the relation of the Socialist party to the Trades Unions, and that they report back to the convention with a resolution.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion has been made and seconded that a committee of seven be elected from such of the delegates as are members of trades unions, to prepare a resolution on the relationship of the Socialist Party to the trades unions, and the committee to report back to the convention.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): My point of order is that we are considering rules for the convention and not committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. We have already in the rules decided upon various committees.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I move you to table the motion.

The question was put and the vive voce vote leaving the chairman in doubt, a division was called for.

A rising vote being taken, the Secretary announced the result to be 71 in favor, 64 opposed, and the Chairman declared the motion to table carried.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, I call up the minority report of yesterday, signed by two members of the committee, Seymour Stedman and W. R. Gaylord, viz. "A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected to consist of nine members," and I move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion is made to adopt the recommendation of the minority, to elect a committee of nine on trades unions. Is the motion seconded?

Several delegates seconded Comrade Gaylord's motion.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): The previous motion made to table shows a disposition to disregard the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the trades union movement, and the argument is frequently made here that we should not have a committee on trades unions. Now the Socialist Party, in my judgment, should have a committee upon the trades union movement, and upon that committee we should have members from both the American Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor. The Socialist Party should make no distinction as between these two organizations, but as I say, should have members from both on that committee, and that committee should bring in a resolution which should be adopted by this body. It should not take the position of trying to capture the trades unions; it should not take the position of trying to bring them into the movement as trades un-

ions, but it should bring in a resolution that will state clearly the position of the Socialist Party upon this question, and thus prevent the confusion and conflict which we have had in Local St. Louis and elsewhere. The Socialist Party in its convention here should state its position and so prevent any confusion.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: My point of information, possibly, is that I want to know whether the question before the convention is not whether we should have a trades union resolution, or what action we should take upon a trades union resolution, but the question is whether we should have a standing committee on trades unions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make it as a point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the motion reads that we appoint or elect a committee of nine on trades unions.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): Comrade Chairman, I am a trades unionist, but I want to say that I am a Socialist first and a trades unionist second. I have come to this convention to represent my constituents as a Socialist and not as a trades unionist. (Applause.) I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, and comrades here assembled, that if this was a trades union convention and the question was up to consider whether that trades union should adopt Socialist principles, I would be in favor of voting for it, but here in this convention I am strictly opposed to it. I say we are here and advocate a cause that interests all humanity, and I want to say that while we are in this convention, we should be for Socialist principles and those alone. In my opinion and in the opinion of the local to which I belong, the Socialist movement should stand for the workers, and should stand above all other organizations, whether they be trades unions, or farmers or anything else. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, I desire to say that during the discussion I do not wish to interrupt the speakers, but they must confine themselves to the subject under discussion. The subject before us is not the attitude of the party to the trades union movement, but the only question before us is whether we shall appoint a committee to prepare a resolution on the trades unions and report back to this convention. Therefore, the delegates will be required to confine themselves to that subject.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): Comrade Chairman, I am of the opinion that we do not need any separate committees. I believe the committee on resolutions can attend to this question. (Applause.) There is a committee on resolutions, and that committee ought to attend to this matter.

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Sieverman will now have the floor.

DEL. SEIVERMAN: I want to say upon this subject that I trust we are all here as Socialists. That I trust as Socialists we can hear every question that has any bearing whatsoever upon the labor question, and that we can have a free and full discussion of it here. I trust also that we will not try to do away with that phase of the labor question which deals with the trades union movement, which embraces itself in the trades union movement, by cowardly ignoring it. (Applause.) I trust that we will have sufficient courage to face this question in a manly manner, and if we think that the trades union movement has sunk to such insignificance as not to warrant our consideration, or any consideration whatsoever, let us say so. (Applause.)

A delegate then rose to a point of order, stating that the speakers should confine themselves to the subject.

THE CHAIIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken at present. I have requested the delegates to confine themselves to the question, and since then they have done so.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): When this committee is appointed and brings in its report, I trust that I will have something to say on the merits of the question. Just now we have nothing to say or to discuss, but some basis can be arrived at if we will appoint a committee whose special duty it shall be to investigate this whole proposition and to report to the delegates of this convention what, in their collective wisdom, is the best way to meet this proposition. That is all that is involved in this present motion, nothing more and nothing less.

When we adopt this motion we do not commit ourselves to the trades union movement. We do not make ourselves the champions of the trades unionists; we simply say we are going to discuss this matter here, we are going to finally dispose of it, and I want to know why you hesitate to take that course? Is it that you fear a full and free discussion, as some of you did the proposition on municipal program? I do not. I will discuss this question from every phase, and I want this committee appointed. I don't care who they favor or what they favor, but I want it discussed here, and I want the first preliminary steps taken so as to do that intelligently and thoroughly, and hence I want that committee appointed. (Applause.)

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As a member of a trades union, a man who has worked with a class-conscious fearlessness in that organization of labor and appearing on this floor a member of a trades union has asked that this committee be appointed, I want to go on record for a roll call. I want to have a roll call here in order that the matter be brought intelligently before this convention. (Applause.)

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Representing as I do a constituency that is interested in the trades union movement, I cannot adequately represent them on this floor without calling for an authoritative expression from the Socialist party in convention assembled, upon the question of the trades union movement. It is big enough to demand our attention. We have been too hazy in our attitude on many of these great vital questions affecting the interests of the whole people. It is not enough to tell the workers that you are their friend, that you are of them and that you are the only party that is fit to live at all. You must show them by the measures which you propose for their relief your ability to guide them, and that you are fit to be trusted. Now the only way in which you can arrive at this point is to appoint this committee, let them deliberate and bring the results of their deliberation before you. Upon the attitude of this committee depends—perhaps more than that of any other committee that will be appointed—the attitude of the trades unionists of this country, and though they may not be class conscious politically, they are class conscious industrially. (Applause.) And I want to tell you that they have grafted some of the most splendid ideals of Socialism out of the realms of abstraction into the concrete, where men recognize the truth of their contentions, grafted them from the bull pens and jails of this country. (Applause.) They are entitled to be heard, to be recognized and to have their position and their duties pointed out by the Socialist party in this country. It is a duty you owe to them and a duty you owe to yourselves. (Applause.)

The previous question was called for, that a committee of nine be appointed as a committee on trades unions, and the question being put the motion was carried.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I now move you, Comrade Chairman, the previous question on the adoption of the rules as a whole.

The question being put on the motion it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only thing before the convention now is the motion to adopt the report of the committee as amended as a whole.

The motion was put and carried unanimously and the report, as amended, declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to elect a Committee on Platform.

COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Platform:

Herron (N. Y.), by Hanford (N. Y.).
Berger (Wis.), by Spence (Wis.).
Richardson (Cal.), by Menton (Mich.).
Simons (Ill.), by Lamb (Mich.).
Leonard (Minn.), by Ault (Idaho).
Debs (Ind.), by Herron (N. Y.).
Titus (Wash.), by Oneal (Ind.).
Will (Kan.), by Cogswell (Kan.).
Mailly (Neb.), by White (Mass.).
Lee (N. Y.), by Berger (Wis.).
M. W. Wilkins (Cal.), by Robbins (Cal.).
Hanford (N. Y.), by Gerber (N. Y.).
Behrens (Mo.), by Brandt (Mo.).
Gibbs (Mass.), by Spargo (N. Y.).
Phelan (Ill.), by Taft (Ill.).
Strobell (N. J.), by Will (Kan.).
Jonas (N. Y.), by M. W. Wilkins (Cal.).
Carr (Ill.), by Hoehn (Mo.).
Hillquit (N. Y.), by Stedman (Ill.).

Del. Turner, of Missouri, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded.

Motion lost, and nominations proceeded as follows:

Bandlow (Ohio), by Zorn (Ohio).
Mills (Kan.), by Southworth (Colo.).
Stedman (Ill.), by Miller (Colo.).
Block (Ill.), by Meyer (Ill.).
Stitt Wilson (Cal.), by Cobb (Cal.).
Burrowes (N. J.), by Outram (Mass.).
Barnes (Pa.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
Webster (Ohio), by Klein (Minn.).
Meyer (Ill.), by Phelan (Ill.).
Lefever (Ark.), by Rose (Miss.).
Spargo (N. Y.), by Slobodin (N. Y.).
Hayes (Ohio), by Waldhorst (Ala.).
Clark (Neb.), by ——
Snyder (Okla.), by Hayes, (Okla.)
Kraybill (Kan.), by Penrose (Ark.).

Delegate McKee, of California, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded and carried.

The list of names was read by the Secretary, and the following delegates declined: Stedman, Barnes, Jonas, Bandlow, Mills, Clark, Burrowes, Simons, Lefever, Lee, Rose, Kraybill.

The Chairman appointed Delegates Gerber (N. Y.) and Will (Kan.), judges; and Hayman (Mass.), Ufert (N. J.), McKee (Cal.), and Turner (Mo.), tellers, to serve throughout the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed to the election of a Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The following nominations were made:

Holman (Minn.), by Klein (Minn.).
Stedman (Ill.), by Benessi (Mich.).
Hillquit (N. Y.), by Herron (N. Y.)
Jacobsen (Iowa), by Work (Iowa).
Clark (Neb.), by M. W. Wilkins (Cal.).
McFarlan (Mich.), by Menton (Mich.).
Oswald (N. J.), by Kronenberg (N. J.).

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I have a suggestion that we call the states alphabetically and go through them, and thus avoid confusion.

Seconded and carried.

The roll of the States was called and the following nominations made:

Alabama—Simons (Ill.).
California—Bandlow (N. Y.), Richardson and Patton (Cal.).
Connecticut—Lamb (Mich.).
Illinois—Berlyn (Ill.), Lucas (Minn.), Slobodin (N. Y.).
Indiana—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kansas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kentucky—Dobbs (N. Y.).
Massachusetts—Keown and Littlefield (Mass.).
Missouri — Turner (Mo.), Mills (Kan.).
Montana—O'Malley (Mont.).
Nebraska—Barnes (Pa.).
New Hampshire—Lee (N. Y.).
New York—Butscher (N. Y.).
Ohio—Bandlow and Sieverman (N. Y.).
Oklahoma—Smith (Ore.).
Oregon—Spargo (N. Y.).
Washington—Lund (Wash.).
Wisconsin—Young (Wis.), Kerrigan (Tex.).
Mississippi—McGrady (Ky.).

Delegates Simons, Patton, Stedman, Lucas, Robbins, Dobbs, Keown, Littlefield, Lee, Sieverman and Spargo declined the nomination.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on the former occasion.

DEL. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): Before we take another vote I want to say that I do not see how we can proceed to elect a second committee until we get the Tellers' report on the first, for the reason that part of the delegates nominated on this committee have also been nominated and voted upon on the other committee, and we are liable to elect men on two committees. I think we will have to wait with the rest of the business until we get the report of the Tellers on the Committee on Platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will take an hour if you wait. In the meanwhile we can elect this Committee and if anyone should appear to have been elected on the other committee, we can take the next man in the order of votes, or such other course as the convention may decide. We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on the former occasion.

The chair called for nominations for Committee on Resolutions, to consist of nine members—nominations to be made by States as before.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you, Mr. Chairman, that in case any candidate is elected on two committees, he or she shall resign from one and the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes on that committee shall be declared elected in his or her place.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is

that if it appears that any one delegate has been elected upon more than one committee he shall resign from such other committees and serve only upon the one he may select; and that the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the vacancy thus created.

The motion was then put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to nominations for members of Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Resolutions:

California—McHugh (Mont.), Wilson (Cal.), Hazlett (Colo.).
Connecticut—Reynolds (Ind.).
Illinois—Deutzman (Cal.), Simons (Ill.), Heydrick (Pa.).
Indiana—Oneal (Ind.).
Iowa—Nagel (Ky.).
Kansas—Southworth (Colo.).
Kentucky—Carey (Mass.) and Slobodin (N. Y.).
Massachusetts—Berlyn (Ill.) and Littlefield (Mass.).
Michigan—Stedman (Ill.).
Minnesota—Klein (Minn.) and Lee (N. Y.).
Missouri—Lipscomb (Mo.).
Montana—Floaten (Colo.) and Smith (Ore.).
Nebraska—Hanford (N. Y.).
New Hampshire—Gibbs (Mass.).
New Jersey—Burrowes (N. J.) and Spence (Wis.).
New York—Lee (N. Y.), Spargo (N. Y.) and Moore (Pa.).
Ohio—Webster (O.).
Oklahoma—Loudermilk (Okla.).
South Dakota—Knowles (S. D.).
Texas—Langworthy (Tex.) and Putnam (La.).
Wisconsin—Hoehn (Mo.) and Goazziou (Pa.).

Delegates Simons, Slobodin, Berlyn, Stedman, Floaten, Hanford, Gibbs, Webster and Hoehn declined the nomination.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Committee of nine on State and Municipal Program.

COMMITTEE ON STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

The following nominations were made:

Alabama—Berger (Wis.).
California—Patton (Cal.).
Colorado—Kraybill (Kan.).
Connecticut—Ufert (N. J.).
Illinois—Simons, Stedman, Dalton and Jas. Smith (Ill.), and Benessi (Mich.).
Indiana—Hyland (Neb.).
Iowa—Reynolds (Ind.) and Work (Iowa).
Kansas—Floaten (Colo.) and Wilson (Cal.).
Kentucky — Robinson (Ky.) and Woodbey, (Cal.).
Massachusetts — Kelly and Keown (Mass.).
Michigan—Dilno (Mo.).
Minnesota—Bickett (O.).
Missouri—Rathbun (Mo.).
Montana—Walsh (Mont.).
New Jersey—Raible (Mo.).
New York—Hoehn (Mo.), Gaylord (Wis.).
Atkinson (N. Y.) and Stedman (Ill.).
Ohio—Farrell (O.).
Oklahoma—Whitelatch (Ind. Ter.).
Oregon—Walsh (Mont.).
Pennsylvania—Untermann (Ill.) and Bacon (Pa.).
Texas—Latham (Tex.).
Wisconsin—Thomas (Wis.) and Bandlow (O.).

Delegates Ufert, Simons, Dalton, Hyland, Woodbey, Bickett, Hoehn, Farrell, Thomas and Bandlow declined the nomination.

The vote for Committee on Platform was then announced as follows:

Herron, 137; Debs, 143; Wilkins, 79; Will, 75; Hanford, 116; Titus, 112; Mailly, 121; Strobell, 75; Berger, 92; Spargo, 73; Kraybill, 15; Block, 14; Leonard, 25; Behrens, 53; Carr, 12; Gibbs, 63; Snyder, 46; Webster, 23; Wilson, 50; Richardson, 56; Phelan, 34; Meyer, 18; Robinson, 21; Burrowes, 1; Mills, 2; Stedman, 3; Lee, 3; Simons, 3; Klein, 1; Hayes, 1; Clark, 1.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Platform:*

Eugene V. Debs, Indiana; George D. Herron, New York; Ben Hanford, New York; William Mailly, Nebraska; Hermon F. Titus, Washington; G. H. Strobell, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Wilkins, California.

Delegate Stedman (Ill.) moved that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected. Seconded.

Before the motion was put the vote

for the Committee on Constitution was announced as follows:

Ault, 30; Clark, 89; Bandlow, 114; Hillquit, 153; Berlyn, 93; Holman, 62; Butscher, 101; Jacobsen, 45; Kerrigan, 71; Lund, 62; McFarlan, 41; Mills, 85; Oswald, 22; Richardson, 82; Slobodin, 98; Smith, 28; Turner, 64; Young, 13; Barnes, 132; Mailly, 25.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Constitution:*

Morris Hillquit, New York; J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Robert Bandlow, Ohio; William Butscher, New York; Henry L. Slobodin, New York; B. Berlyn, Illinois; W. E. Clark, Nebraska; Walter Thomas Mills, Kansas; N. A. Richardson, California.

Delegate Stedman's motion that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected was then put and adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two more committees to be appointed according to rules. One is the Committee on Press, and the other is the Auditing Committee, consisting of five members each. The chair will announce the following appointments:

Committee on Press—A. M. Simons, Illinois; Alexander Jonas, New York; J. H. Walsh, Montana; G. H. Strobell, New Jersey; F. L. Robinson, Kentucky.

THE CHAIRMAN: That gives Delegate Strobell the choice of one or the other of two committees.

Auditing Committee—Gustave Dressler, New York; Miss Carrie L. Johnson, Iowa; T. E. Palmer, Missouri; A. B. Outram, Massachusetts; H. M. McKee, California.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are next in order for the Committee on Ways and Means, nine members to be elected.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

The secretary then called the roll of states, and the following were nominated:

California—Cobb (Cal.).
Illinois—Herron (N. Y.).
Indiana—Slobodin (N. Y.).
Iowa—Jacobsen (Ia.) and Leonard (Minn.).
Kentucky—Mailly (Neb.) and Stockell (Tenn.).
Michigan—Lamb (Mich.).
Minnesota — John D. Rockefeller (Laughter).
Missouri—Miller (Colo.) and Goaziou (Pa.).
Montana—Hirt (Mont.).
Nebraska—Duncan M. Smith (Ill.).
New Jersey—Gerber (N. Y.) and Rubinow (N. J.).
New York—Morgan (Ill.) and Hoehn (Mo.).
Ohio—Lund (Wash.).
Oregon—Lund (Wash.).
Texas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Wisconsin—Ammann (Wis.).

Delegates Herron, Slobodin, Jacobsen, Leonard, Mailly, Goaziou, Smith, Gerber and Morgan declined the nomination.

This leaving but nine delegates, motion was made that the rules be suspended and that these nine delegates be declared elected as the Committee on Ways and Means.

Seconded and adopted.

The following delegates were therefore declared elected the *Committee on Ways and Means:* J. L. Cobb, California; C. H. Stockell, Tennessee; C. J. Lamb, Michigan; Guy Miller, Colorado; David Rubinow, New Jersey; Otto Lund, Washington; John Kerrigan, Texas; H. J. Ammann, Wisconsin; John H. Hirt, Montana.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last committee to be elected is the Committee on Trades Unions, to consist of nine members.

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: If I understand the motion aright for the appointment of a Trades Union Committee, that committee is to consist of trades unionists. Is that part of the motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was not part of the motion; any nine delegates. The secretary will please call the roll of states on the Trades Union Committee.

TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

The secretary then called the roll of states, and the following nominations were made:

Alabama—Robinson (Ky.).
Arkansas—Farrell (O.).
California—Dobbs (N. Y.).
Colorado — Hayes (O.), Miller (Colo.).
Connecticut—White (Mass.).
Illinois—Meyer (Ill.), Walsh (Mont.) and Deutzman (Cal.).
Indiana—Hollenberger (Ind.).

Iowa—Jacobsen (Ia.) and Breckon (Ill.).
Kansas—Palmer (Mo.).
Kentucky—Sieverman (N. Y.) and Bandlow (O.).
Maryland—Toole (Md.).
Massachusetts—Carey (Mass.) and Gibbs (Mass.).
Michigan—Menton (Mich.) and Hanford (N. Y.).
Minnesota—Bickett (O.), Stedman (Ill.).
Missouri—Barnes (Pa.), Stedman (Ill.), Webster (O.), Langworthy (Tex.) and Hoehn (Mo.).
Montana—McHugh (Mont.).
Nebraska—Nagel (Ky.).
New Jersey—Glanz (N. J.).
New York—Hunger (Wis.), Bandlow (O.) and Moore (Pa.).
Oklahoma—Hoehn (Mo.) and Zorn (O.).
Oregon—Maurer (Pa.).
Wisconsin—Turner (Mo.) and Collins (Ill.).

Delegates Dobbs, Meyer, Breckon, Palmer, Barnes, Bandlow, Moore, Langworthy, Stedman and Turner declined the nomination.

A delegate here suggested that the members nominated define their positions in regard to the trades union question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was not the sense of the motion or adopted as part of it that trade unionists only be elected or that representatives of the two labor organizations be on the committee. We simply vote for the delegates and you take into consideration whatever they may know about the matter. It may be of some aid to you, Comrades, if you will hear the results of the election of the Committee on Resolutions, which the Secretary will now read.

THE SECRETARY: The votes on that committee are as follows: Carey, 156; Hayes, 150; Lee, 120; Oneal, 94; Burrowes, 84; Hazlett, 78; Spargo, 72; Klein, 69; Heydrick, 65; Deutzman, 23; Knowles, 19; Langworthy, 14; Littlefield, 29; Loudermilk, 15; Moore, 55; Nagel, 36; Putnam, 42; Reynolds, 61; Smith, 52; Southworth, 50; Spence, 54; Webster, 25; Wilson, 51; Lipscomb, 46; Hoehn, 6; Berlyn, 1; Mailly, 1; Hanford, 1; Slobodin, 3; Floaten, 2.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Resolutions:* James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Max S. Hayes, Ohio; Algernon Lee, New York; James Oneal, Indiana; Peter E. Burrowes, New Jersey; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Colorado; John Spargo, New York; Nicholas Klein, Minnesota; Charles Heydrick, Pennsylvania.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): While the ballots are being collected for the election of this last committee I would like to suggest, in order to get down to business, that the one receiving the highest number of votes on these various committees elected call the committees together this evening. I have had a little experience in some of these conventions, and it is generally the case that the work drags because the committees are slow in consideration of the propositions brought before them. A great deal of time could be saved if the committees could get together at once.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will announce that the National Secretary has made arrangements for all committees to meet at the Sherman House, on Clark and Randolph, for the reason that there are not sufficient accommodations at the Revere House. The members of the Committee on Platform will ask for the room of Geo. D. Herron; those serving on the Committee on Constitution will ask for my room, and all of the other committees will ask for Secretary Mailly's room, who will reserve a number of rooms in his name for the use of the Committees. All committees will meet there at 8:30.

DEL. MAILLY: I would suggest that those who have matters to be considered by the committees would do well to hand them in now.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course, anyone desiring to submit matters to the committees can either go and appear personally before the committee or can hand them to members of the committee now.

DEL. STROBELL (N. J.): I would like to resign from the Press Committee, so you can put another man in my place.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will appoint Delegate S. M. Reynolds, of Indiana, to take the vacancy on the Press Committee.

The vote on the Committee on State and Municipal Program was announced as follows:

Atkinson, 54; Bacon, 43; Benessi, 41; Berger, 89; Dilno, 36; Floaten, 117; Gaylord, 114; Kelly, 52; Hoehn, 13; Kraybill, 61; Latham, 24; Patton, 37; Rathbun, 24; Reilly, 38; Reynolds, 34;

Robinson, 45; Stedman, 114; Untermann, 127; Walsh, 19; Whitelatch, 14; Work, 125.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on State and Municipal Program:* E. Untermann, Illinois; John M. Work, Iowa; A. H. Floaten, Colorado; W. R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Seymour Stedman, Illinois; L. R. Kraybill, Kansas; Warren Atkinson, New York.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does Delegate Reynolds prefer to serve on this committee or on the Press Committee?

A DELEGATE: He is not here.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): There seems to be a misunderstanding as to the position of those delegates who have been elected on more than one committee. Some of the delegates who have been elected on more than one committee have expressed themselves as being uncertain, to say the least, as to whether they cannot serve upon both. I recollect very clearly that we have passed a motion that that is not the case, and that the delegates have to choose which of the two committees they wish to serve on so that the next man upon the committee from which they withdraw may be assigned to the committee. Now, the time has come when it is quite important that before we adjourn tonight the list of committees should be read, and those delegates who have been elected upon more than one committee, if that be the ruling of the convention, as I believe it is, must choose which committee they will serve upon, and this convention must know that the position has been filled.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo, it seems to me that the simpliest way to do and to take the least time of the convention, will be to allow each delegate to hand his resignation to the chairman of that committee from which he desires to resign, and the chairman will then select the delegate having the next highest number of votes on the list of candidates to fill the vacancy.

DEL. SPARGO: The point is this: If he is only at the meeting of the committee with the delegation he chooses to serve with, and resigns from the other and his resignation is accepted, what knowledge have we that the other delegate entitled to serve on that committee will be reached by the chairman of that committee? He has a right to be present during the entire session of that committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion before the house.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of order. I want to know of the chairman whether such a rule has been passed?

THE CHAIRMAN: Such a rule has been passed, to the best of the knowledge, belief and information of the Chair.

DEL. SPARGO: I move you that before we adjourn we have the results of all elections of committees read, and that each delegate who may have been elected to two or more committees shall be called upon to state upon which committee he will serve. I want to emphasize the importance of that motion and from another point of view entirely, and it is as follows: That it may govern in the choice of a delegate as to which committee he will serve upon if he knows what delegate will be called upon to fill the vacancy. That makes all the difference in the world. It is an important point that we ought not to let go in this rush of matter.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Supplementary Report of Credential Committee

Chairman Lee of the Committee on Credentials made the following supplementary report:

DEL. LEE: The Credentials Committee recommends that the following comrades be received as delegates to this convention: From Montana, J. H. Walsh and W. G. O'Malley; from New York, A. A. Mayell; from Oklahoma, there appeared an alternate and a delegate, with one seat to fill, and it appeared that the Territorial Secretary had instructed the alternate to appear here, under the impression, perhaps, that the delegate was not going to appear; and by the consent of both of those, the alternate and the delegate, it was recommended that Delegates Smith and Renshaw be both seated, with each a half vote.

In regard to delegations in which some contests arise, we present the following report:

The following protest was received against the seating of Comrade Gridley, of Indiana:

To the Committee on Credentials:

Comrades: I desire to enter a protest against seating Comrade A. T.

Gridley, of Aurora, Ind., in this Convention, for the following reasons:

1. The Socialist party is opposed to compromise, fusion or political trading of any form, and the acceptance of appointment or election from any city government controlled by the parties of capitalism, is a violation of this principle of Socialist tactics.

2. It has recently come to my notice that Comrade A. T. Gridley, holding credentials from the State of Indiana, holds the position of city engineer in the city of Aurora, Ind., to which he was elected by a city council composed of Democrats, Republicans and Independents, and that this position was accepted and is still held by him, while retaining membership in Local Aurora of the Socialist party.

3. If the foregoing statement is true, as I believe it is, A. T. Gridley is unworthy of a seat in this convention.

WILL BARRETT,
Delegate from Indiana.

Comrade Gridley made the following reply:

"May 1, 1904.

"To the Credentials Committee of the Socialist Party in National Convention Assembled:

"Gentlemen: I have a copy of the complaint filed by Comrade Barrett, of Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The complaint states a truth, but it does not state all the truth. I hold that position, which is not a political one, and I hold it as a known Socialist, and I am now a candidate for the mayoralty of the City of Aurora, nominated by the Socialist party of Aurora, unanimously.

"Further, I am an ex-soldier of the war of 1861-1865, and am not able to make a living at any other business than that of civil engineering, owing to disabilities incurred in the service.

"Further, I was elected to the office of city civil engineer of the City of Aurora, Indiana, nineteen years before there was a Socialist party in the State of Indiana, and I have performed those duties for that city continuously since.

"Further, if I had but been elected yesterday, I fail to observe any objection to taking capitalistic money (honestly earned) and spending it for Socialism.

"Further, if it is a Socialistic sin to take pay from capitalists for service rendered, then I prefer the countercharge against Comrade Barrett, that he is not competent to sit in the Socialist convention, for he works for a capitalist of the Republican persuasion, and is likewise guilty with myself in taking capitalistic money and using it to promote Socialism.

"Further, if your committee decide adversely to myself, I appeal from that decision to the Convention as a whole, where I will make a more extended reply. Yours truly,

"ALBERT T. GRIDLEY,
"Delegate from Indiana."

In view of the fact that no sufficiently definite party law has existed, we recommend that Comrade Gridley be seated. We also urge that the Convention adopt a clear rule to cover cases of this sort.

Comrade Titus dissents from the recommendations in this case and will present a minority report.

Credentials were received from H. Anielewski, A. Debski, S. Odalski and J. Liss, representing the Polish Socialist Alliance, who wish to confer with the Convention relative to affiliation with the Socialist Party. We recommend that a special committee of five be elected to meet this delegation and report to the Convention.

The request of the Arkansas delegates to seat T. J. Hagerty in place of a delegate not present is reported to the Convention without recommendation, as no credentials were presented for your committee to act on.

(Signed)
ALGERNON LEE, *Chairman*,
H. W. BISTORIUS, *Secretary*.
Committee on Credentials.

CHAIRMAN LEE of the Credentials Committee, continued: There remains one case to be taken up—that of the delegate from Utah. The Committee spent considerable time in hearing from Comrade Randall, who came and asked for credentials. After hearing the National Secretary's statement in the matter and hearing from several members on one side and the other, the Committee finds the case an exceedingly complicated one—a case that went back two years ago; but upon all of the evidence presented before the Committee the Committee comes to this recommendation. I will state to you what probably all are familiar with, that the state

charter of the State of Utah was revoked by the National Committee some months ago, because the State of Utah had not for a period of about a year paid any dues, and had failed to carry out certain arrangements alleged to have been made between it and the National Committee in regard to the payment of certain dues. Its charter was revoked, but now it appears this organization—which is not at present affiliated with the National Committee, sends its delegate here, and makes an offer to pay that back account, dating back a year or two years, according as we count from the time of the suspension or from the time when the account was incurred—offering to pay that account if their Delegate would be seated in this Convention. After hearing and considering the matter, this Committee recommends that Comrade Randall be not recognized as a delegate, but that the courtesy of a seat, without voice or vote, be extended to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. What is your pleasure?

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be made a special order of business for tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: What will you do with those upon whom the Committee has reported favorably?

It was moved and seconded that the report be adopted.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I move to amend that motion, that the matter pertaining to the contests be submitted to the Constitutional Committee of this Convention.

Not seconded.

The motion to accept the report of the Committee was adopted.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that Comrade Hagerty be seated as a delegate.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): The report of the Committee is before us and it covers many different points. Wouldn't it be well to take up the different cases one at a time, so as to prevent confusion? I, therefore, suggest, or rather ask as a delegate, that we proceed to take up the report of the Committee on Credentials seriatim, so that each case may be acted upon by itself, and that we may not make indiscriminate jabs at it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first motion should have included a motion to act upon it seriatim.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): The report has three distinct parts, and none of them are intricate. If we defeat any action upon Comrade Hagerty, covered now by the motion——

A delegate here raised the point of order that Comrade Barnes was not speaking to the motion before the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is made by Delegate Carey that we proceed to the consideration of the report seriatim.

A DELEGATE: Do I not understand that a motion has been made to seat Comrade Hagerty?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a question of rule of procedure, and we cannot proceed with the substance of the report until this motion is disposed of. Let us take up this motion to proceed with the report seriatim.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first matter presented by the Committee is a favorable report on a number of delegates.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I move that all those delegates favorably reported on be seated.

The motion was seconded.

A DELEGATE: Does that include Comrade Gridley, of Illinois?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

THE DELEGATE: If that is the case——

DEL. MILLS: I make an exception of that. That is in the minority report and that would naturally be excepted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills amends his motion that all those delegates who have been favorably reported upon, on whom there is no contest or discussion, be seated. That will exclude Comrade Gridley.

Delegate Mills' motion was then adopted.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): A delegate from Arkansas asks that the delegation from Arkansas not being full—that State being entitled to three delegates, and only two being here—that Comrade Hagerty should be seated as a delegate. But as Comrade Hagerty had not been elected as a delegate, but is simply an Arkansas representative here present, the Committee did not see that

it had anything to act upon, and referred the request to the Convention without recommendation.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I renew my motion to seat Comrade Hagerty as a delegate from Arkansas.

The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire some information from the Committee on Credentials, as to who has requested that Comrade Hagerty be seated, and upon what recommendation is he to be seated.

DEL. LATHAM (Tex.): The State Chairman of Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the State Chairman of Arkansas present?

DEL. LEFEVER (Ark.): Yes, sir. Both delegates from Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: I rule that the motion is out of order for the reason that we recognize only representatives of States elected one way or the other.

A delegate appealed from the decision of the Chair and Delegate Spargo, of New York, moved that the appeal be tabled.

Delegate Woodbey, of California, vice chairman of the day, thereupon took the chair and placed the question of appeal from the decision of the Chair before the convention.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. Is this question of appeal from the decision of the Chair debatable?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think not.

DEL PARKS (Kan.): Roberts' Rules of Order says that in matters where it is not debatable that the question is to be put then without debate, and this is a subterfuge to lay it on the table. We will have to vote on the appeal and not on the question of laying it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: My opinion of it is that when the decision of the Chair is appealed from that a motion can be made to lay that appeal on the table.

DEL. PARKS: I have Roberts' Rules of Order here.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, what does it say?

DEL. PARKS: It says a motion to lay on the table is not debatable and it cannot be amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to lay the appeal on the table. All in favor of it will indicate it by saying "aye."

A DELEGATE: I think the vote is confused. I don't think the members know what they are voting about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want to take your vote over again?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me explain: A decision of the Chair has been appealed from, and a motion has been made to lay that appeal from the decision of the Chair on the table. Now—

DEL. FLOATEN: (Colo.): I am inclined to think that motion is out of order. I don't think you can lay an appeal on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it can be done very well.

The motion to lay the appeal on the table was carried, and the Chair thereby sustained in his decision that Delegate Richardson's motion to seat Comrade Hagerty was out of order. The Chairman of the day then resumed his position in the chair.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of privilege. I understand that if we adjourn now it will save the comrades $12 for lights. I, therefore, move we adjourn.

Delegate Stedman raised the point of order that the convention, having voted to await the announcement of the results of election of committees before adjourning, that the motion to adjourn was not in order unless that action of the convention should be reconsidered.

The Chairman decided the point of order well taken, and upon a delegate stating that a motion to adjourn is always in order, the Chairman stated: "A motion to adjourn is always in order, but we have adopted a motion to adjourn under certain conditions, and we have to reconsider that before doing something else."

A Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations

DEL. LEE (N. Y.) For the Credentials Committee: H. Anielewski, A. Debski, S. Odalski and J. Liss, from the Polish Socialist Alliance, wish to make arrangements if possible for affiliation with the Socialist party. Your committee recommends that a special committee of five be elected to meet these comrades and report to the convention.

A motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Gaylord moved to amend to the effect that a committee be appointed by the Chair. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the motion and the motion was adopted as amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is so ordered,

and a committee of five will be appointed. The Chair will have to take particular pains, I suppose, in selecting men who can speak Polish. The Chair will appoint Comrades Algernon Lee of New York, Gaylord of Wisconsin, Hayman of Massachusetts, Sieverman of New York and Untermann of Illinois.

The Gridley Case

DEL. LEE: In the case of the protest against the seating of A. T. Gridley of Indiana, the committee recommends that Comrade Gridley be seated, and urges that this convention take measures to provide a definite and clear rule of the party in regard to the acceptance of appointment or employment by members of the party in cases of this sort. Comrade Titus has a minority report.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I should be unfaithful to the state that I represent and to my individual convictions if I did not present this minority report. The state of Washington has on numerous occasions taken referendum votes on this subject, and has invariably voted, as its constitution states also, that no member of the Socialist party shall receive an appointive or elective office at the hands of a capitalist government, the only exception being that of offices obtained under the civil service. Now, it would appear from an examination of Comrade Gridley's appointment that he was entitled to his position because of merit, and not because his appointment had any political significance. In Washington we rejected the application of Judge Windsor, one of the regents of the State University, who had been appointed by Gov. Rogers for political reasons, although Judge Windsor himself denied that he was under any obligation to the party that appointed him. We have had this again and again before us, and the party tactic there has been invariably as I said. I believe it to be good policy, and in harmony with that I present this motion: That Comrade Gridley be seated; that is the majority report, that he be seated; but the minority report adds this, that Comrade Gridley be seated on the explicit understanding, as the facts support, that his appointment was for merit only and had no political significance. I move the adoption of that motion. Seconded.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move to concur in the recommendation of the minority report, that Gridley be seated, and to refer the other recommendation of the committee to the Committee on State and Municipal Program. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials. What was the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials? Did that include a reference to the Committee on State and Municipal Program?

DEL. LEE: That Gridley be seated and that some measures be taken to make a definite party law covering cases of this kind.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Ought it not to go to the Committee on Rules and not to the Committee on State and Municipal Program?

DEL. TITUS: A point of order, that my motion was seconded and will have to be put before the house.

DEL. LEE: In the name of the majority of the committee, I will say I can certainly accept and support Comrade Titus's motion, because it certainly was in the mind of every member of the majority, but we did not have it perhaps as clearly as he has stated. I think I can accept it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials will be unanimous to the effect that the delegate be seated, on the explicit understanding that his appointment was for merit only and had no political significance; also that a rule be provided for the guidance of the party for similar occasions in the future; is that correct?

DEL. LEE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: That satisfies both sides. Then the only motion before the house is to concur in that recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I think in this case that it would be entirely too previous to seat a man that has a position under a capitalistic government. We have rejected in our state the applications of men, I believe, who held positions under a city government and held them for years, but every time the comrades have voted unanimously that no man, no matter who he was or what the position he held, if it was an appointive or elective office given by a capitalistic government, that they did not belong in the Socialist party. (Applause.) It does not matter to me whether Comrade Gridley has a position of merit or anything else; if we accept it this time this case will come back

to us, and the same case will come up and create disturbance and dissatisfaction among the rank and file. I do not think this convention has any right to go beyond the ethics of Socialism as they are accepted. In no place has it been that a man in a capitalistic position, elected or appointed, under a capitalistic government has had a seat as delegate or officer of the Socialist party. I think it would be wrong to do that, whether the comrade is a good man or a good Socialist or anything else. He is only one man, and it is the whole principle that is at stake, and I think it would be entirely wrong and contrary to our principles to accept a man like that as a delegate to a convention. Now, this may appear and may be all right; I have no objection to that. But there is only one man here in this case, and a principle is at stake. In after years, when the party may grow larger than it is now, politician after politician of the old parties will seek admission into the party and at the same time hold a position with the Democratic or Republican or any other capitalistic party. There is a precedent to be settled, and that precedent should be settled right. If it does hurt the comrade I would be sorry to do it, but at the same time I cannot see my way out. I have talked Socialism as long as I have known what Socialism was, and that is a good many years, and I have always been taught that I am to have nothing to do with any capitalist party in any shape or form, and that I must not endorse any of their actions, no matter what they are. If I cannot vote a Socialist ticket I will stay away from the polls. If I cannot make my living without accepting a position under capitalism then I resign as a member of the Socialist party. (Applause.) If I must rely on a position like that, then I have no business in the party. I must go to the people to supply me that position and not to the Socialist party. I think any comrade that is a Socialist would not do that, for the simple reason that any position, it doesn't make any difference how gotten, from any government not connected with the Socialist movement, I certainly would not accept, even if it was a financial or money success to me. That is the way I look at it. If the party in Alabama knows it, away down in the South, they are going to hold that up to us. This report will go all over the United States and it will be said that the Socialist party of America has seated a man that holds a position under a capitalist government. You have got enough things on hand now: what is the use of creating additional ones? You have been putting chains around our members, and they have been chained down and clubbed down and everything else, and I say it is in our power to do away with the evil and not attempt to establish a precedent that will be very hurtful in the future. If you read the report of the party committee of the Socialists of Germany you will find that the party unanimously—I believe there were only thirteen votes against it—decided that a man cannot hold office or run a capitalistic newspaper and have a position in the Socialist party. (Applause.) You know that as well as I do. That is my reason for not admitting men like that.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I am very much interested in the discussion of this question, because it is frequently coming up. But I know this, and you know it too, that every old soldier that to-day draws a pension from the United States Government does it under a capitalist government, and for merit, and at the same time it would exclude every soldier from the Socialist movement unless he gives up his pension, because, mark you, he draws his pension because of what he did in the army, and he gets it from and under a capitalist government. Out in California we have got a peculiar case. In the city charter of San Francisco there is this provision: That a board of election commissioners, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed from the three parties highest in power, and the capitalist government has appointed a Socialist each time down to the present time, and they have refused to appoint one, and at present there is a contest in the courts as to whether the mayor has the right to do that sort of thing again. Now, referring to the Dresden Conference, it is well known that the German comrades, as I understand it, make no exception, but recommend that members go into the German army. They recommend that sort of thing, and they boast that a large number of the army of Germany is already Socialistic, understand. (Applause.) That is true in Germany, and there are other things that might be pointed out in Germany. I would like

to see this thing definitely settled, for it seems to me it is a very important point. Now, here is a man that works for a capitalist government. We all know that we work for capitalists when we work at all, and we would be pretty poor if we did not work for capitalists at all. It is a very nice point.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I am very sure that before we vote on this matter it would be wise for us to see how far we are ourselves responsible for the situation. At the unity convention in Indianapolis this question was discussed quite at length, and finally, because the delegates there assembled did not wish to commit themselves, they referred the matter by special resolution to the National Committee at that time. In the first session of the National Committee the matter was taken up and discussed for a long time, and finally no recommendation made. It has been taken up on various occasions. Some of the states have acted with regard to it and others have not. I believe there are a number of points involved in this matter with regard to which this convention ought to act. But if this comrade is out of place as a delegate, he is out of place as a member of a local, and the local is out of place as a member of the state party of Indiana, and Indiana is out of place in this convention. Now, it seems to me that the wise thing for us to do is to do exactly what is suggested by the committee—do not punish Indiana for our own faults. Let us make the rules, and, having made a rule, insist upon its being obeyed. But until we are willing to take some position assuming responsibility ourselves, we ought not to blame men for not obeying rules which we ourselves have refused to amend. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): It seems to me that we might as well discuss this matter with some reference at least to the facts, and with some desire to discuss the matter at the present time in a way which will lead to the light. I yield to no comrade on the floor of this convention in my adherence to the principles of the working class movement. But, comrades, I believe that there comes a time when we follow the sound of revolution instead of the spirit of the revolution. I believe, in other words, that the comrades raising this objection and the comrades making this protest forget the real situation. There is no gainsaying the facts; in many towns there are workmen, carpenters, painters, workmen of all grades, who are not employed under any civil service regulation who are employed by foremen elected by city councils, and the question of political persuasion never enters into it for a minute. There are men in the towns who are working as carpenters for the corporation, for the town authorities, who have not been chosen because of any political view or any political services, rendered or prospective, but because the supply of men for those places is limited in that locality. Are you going to bar those men out of the Socialist party? I say, comrades, that if you are going to bar them from the convention you must close the door on them in the Socialist party itself, and I, for one, am not willing to debar any man from the Socialist party until it can be shown that the question of political service has entered into his appointment. (Applause.) Comrades, what do we find? Here is a man who has been working in a certain position for a number of years. In apt time the message of Socialism reaches him, and he says, "I will throw my lot with this party," and he is admitted to the Socialist party, and the question then is whether after he has been admitted to the party, after he has served the party, we will admit him to a convention of the party. And, comrades, let me tell you this, that the moment the time comes when you say to a man that he is good enough to be in the party, but is not to be allowed to be nominated or to be elected to its conventions, at that time you have sapped the very foundation of the integrity of the Socialist party. (Applause.) I am for the working class first last and all the time, but I am not going to vote that the working class shall commit suicide in this convention. I shall vote for the admission of this comrade because the party admitted that comrade to the party, and therefore I will admit him to the convention and vote for admitting him, because so long as he is a member of the Socialist party we have no right to close the door of the convention upon him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You seem to forget that we are not now making rules for our guidance in such cases, but merely discussing the question whether the present applicant shall be admitted and the rule subsequently made.

The previous question was moved by

an Ohio delegate, seconded and carried.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to speak in opposition to admitting the delegate, for the reason that Local Baltimore has had a case similar to this. We voted to expel a comrade for a cause exactly like this. A doctor in our local accepted a position as health warden, and he claimed, too, that it was for merit and all that sort of thing. But the fact of the case was that he was appointed at the advice of a Democratic politician. Now, then, Local Baltimore acted on this matter, and they decided that any man who holds a position under the Democratic or Republican party other than a civil service position shall not be eligible to membership in that local. As a delegate from Maryland and as a delegate from Baltmore, I must stand here and vote against the admission of that delegate, and that is why I want the floor. Otherwise my comrades in Baltimore would call me to account.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.) I think the statement has been made that we would establish a precedent. I do not think so, because the committee who will later act on this may destroy the precedent. Something more: It seems to me the most heartless cruelty to take away the bread from the mouths of the workers, no matter how they may get it. We must remember that to-day we are in the situation of this delegate from Indiana. He either must give up his party, give up his views and ideals, or else give up his bread. It seems to me that we, as Socialists, who are uplifting and standing for humanity, would be guilty of the basest cruelty to take the bread out of a man's mouth by making him give up his ideals. It seems to me also that it is the height of foolishness for the Socialist party, which is looking for members to come in, to turn them back simply because they have an opportunity to make their bread under a capitalistic system. It is foolishness. We want all the members we can get. We want all the money we can get also. It is keeping the working class down to the lowest level instead of letting them rise up to the highest possible level. Let me call your attention also to the fact that it will keep them out of all municipal departments in cities such as I come from, the firemen and police department and all others. All those members are debarred not only from holding offices, but from being members of the Socialist party. It seems to me the thing to do is to seat this delegate, and then let us decide on our course of action in the future.

A Connecticut delegate mentioned an instance where a member accepted a position as city scavenger, but the Socialist local voted charges against him for taking an appointment from the Democratic party.

DEL. ATKINSON (N. Y.) There is a little difference of opinion about seating this member, but it is difficult to make a rule. But this offers an illustration of just the kind of rule that we should make. This man holds his position, an appointive position, from a capitalist party, for merit. Now, he holds it because he is known as a Socialist agitator. Why do I know that? Because he was elected by his constituency to represent them in this convention. Now, he affords an illustration of just the line of distinction on which we should decide whether a man can be a member of the Socialist party and hold a position from a capitalist organization. Here is a man who holds a professional position where he must do a definite work for definite pay, a position which does not involve any political services. Now, let us seat this man, but let us make a rule that a Socialist may hold a position from a capitalist or business organization or a capitalist appointive position if he undoubtedly holds it for merit and for work done. But let us make a rule that no man shall be a member of the Socialist party or an officer of the same who holds a position from a capitalist organization of any kind which requires that he shall do political service or work having any political influence whatever.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): If this comrade who wishes to get a seat in this convention can produce papers to the effect that he has passed a civil service examination, I for one, am satisfied to seat him. If these papers can not be produced I stand here as a representative from Nebraska, and while I have a chance to say so I want to go on record as being opposed to the seating of this delegate. I want it strictly understood, I want it to go on record, that I came here not for harmony; I came here to thresh out issues for the benefit of the working class. I take the stand and say that it would establish a precedent in this convention. I realize, as Comrade Spargo has already said, that it is not

policy to have any disruption at this time, but I will vote first, last and all the time in the interest of the working class. If we go to work and allow men to come into this convention who have been appointed or placed in capitalist positions from any other than from the point of merit, then I want to go on record as being opposed to it. If these papers can be produced I am then satisfied; otherwise I want to go on record.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.) I speak in favor of seating Delegate Gridley, not because I can find any excuse for him holding this office. I do not. I can find absolutely no excuse for him. Only under the constitutional law of the party to-day the states are judges of their representation in these conventions, and as long as Comrade Gridley is a member of the party in Indiana he can be selected and can come into this convention. The only thing that this convention can decide is whether he is legally elected or not, but as to the choice of the delegates each organized state has its own will and desire and can follow its own wishes in the matter. But I want to go on record. I speak in favor of seating him because of the constitutional law of the party, and until you have a different law you must observe it. But I find absolutely no excuse for seating any man holding an office and elected by the Democratic or Republican party. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials, as follows: That the candidate be seated, on the explicit understanding that his appointment was for merit only and has no political significance; and provided further, that this convention adopt a rule to cover the subject in the future.

Motion put and carried.

Delegate Waldhorst of Alabama demanded a roll call by states. Seconded.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): That ought to be a debatable question.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not debatable. A majority may call for a roll call, and whether there is a majority or not will be found by the vote.

The question was put, but the result not announced.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: A division has been called for. All those in favor of having a roll call on this question will please rise. All opposed will please rise. The vote is 58 against 28 in favor. The motion is lost.

A motion to adjourn was here renewed.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion to adjourn is not in order under the previous ruling of the Chair.

A DELEGATE: A motion was carried to continue this session for forty-five minutes. That time has elapsed and we have now reached the end of the session.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order raised by the delegate is not well taken. The motion was to remain in session until all the committees were elected and disposed of. Comrades, I desire to say, if it is proper for the Chair to make a suggestion, that we ought to postpone the evening session to-night. It will be late when we get through here and we are all tired, and I suggest that probably a motion had better be made to adjourn the convention at the close of this session until to-morrow morning. That will give the committees time to work this evening and shape up their matters, and so if we postpone the session to-night we will be in much better shape to go on in the morning.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I see a little feeling on the part of the delegates in regard to this question of adjournment. Therefore, I move that those who desire to register their opposition on this motion that has just passed be permitted to do so by saying not more than fifty words, and that their opposition be filed with the Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to decline that for two reasons: First, we have adopted our rules, and, second, we are not discussing the rules, but are on the report of the Credentials Committee. The chairman of the Credentials Committee has the floor, if he is ready to render his additional report.

The Utah Case

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): In the case of Charles Randall of Utah, who appeared before your committee, your committee recommends that he be not seated as a delegate, but that he be extended the courtesy of a seat, without voice or vote in the convention.

Motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee, which motion was seconded.

A delegate from Ohio moved as an

amendment that the comrade be given a right to speak.

Amendment seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that the comrade from Utah be given a seat and voice, but not a vote, in this convention.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, in the committee we discussed this, and I want to explain to you just how this matter came up, because I want you to understand that the committee regarded it as exactly what I have called it, a courtesy, when it recommended that Comrade Randall be admitted to a seat on the floor of the convention. We considered whether we could so far extend this vote, and we came to the conclusion that upon all the evidence and all the facts before us there could be no reason why he have this, any more than any other of these visiting comrades who have been elected as alternates from regularly organized and working states, or hard-working comrades who have taken the trouble to come here to see this convention. We would like to give them all a voice on the floor of this convention, but it is impossible to do business in that way, and we could see no more reason why this comrade, who does not represent a working organization of the Socialist party, who does not represent an organization that this party recognizes at all, we could see no more reason why he should be given the right to take part in the discussions of this convention than in the case we have already passed upon of the comrade from Arkansas, who personally requested that he should be seated. We asked that he be given the courtesy of a seat in the convention simply as a courtesy, because it seemed that it might have a certain effect in bringing about and showing a desire upon our part to bring these troubles to an end. Beyond that the committee felt that it could not go, and beyond that I believe the convention should not go. That is, should not seat or give a voice to any one who is not a delegate to this convention. (Loud applause.)

A delegate here moved the previous question.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege. I want to ask whether the delegate has paid any money.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Credential Committee has reported to the best of my recollection, in regard to what he has paid.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved, and the motion seconded. There are three minutes on each side for debate, for and against.

There was no debate and the motion to concur in the committee's report was adopted.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to give notice that I shall make a motion in connection with the Utah matter before we adjourn. I wish to make that announcement in order not to seem to have concurred in its final disposition.

A DELEGATE: Comrade Chairman, if I remember aright there was an amendment that the report of the Committee on Credentials be amended so as to add a seat and voice.

THE CHAIRMAN: That amendment was made, but to the best of my recollection it was not seconded, and the only thing that remained was the motion to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials. I will now announce the vote for members of the Trades Union Committee, as follows: Robinson, 27; Farrell, 26; Hayes, 128; Miller, 92; White, 66; Walsh, 27; Deutzman, 20; Hollenberger, 19; Jacobsen, 15; Sieverman, 85; Toole, 7; Carey, 116; Gibbs, 20; Hanford, 104; Bickett, 22; Hoehn, 97; McHugh, 21; Nagel, 70; Glanz, 20; Hunger, 79; Menton, 21; Zorn, 42; Maurer, 20; Webster, 17; Langworthy, 18; Collins, 91; Kraybill, 1; Dobbs, 3; Bandlow, 5; Stedman, 1; Turner, 11; Walker, 3; Breckon, 8; Mailly, 8: Palmer, 1; Barnes, 8; Spargo, 1; Berlyn, 1; Moore, 2.

The following delegates, therefore, were declared elected the *Trades Union Committee;* Max S. Hayes, Ohio; James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Guy Miller, Colorado; Ben Hanford, New York; G. A. Hoehn, Missouri; John Collins, Illinois; Frank Sieverman, New York; Adam Nagel, Kentucky; Jacob Hunger, Wisconsin.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now have the complete list of committees and we will now, according to our motion, read over all the lists and dispose of those who appear on several committees.

Delegate Hanford retired from the Trades Union Committee and Dan. A. White of Massachusetts was substituted.

Delegate Berger retired from the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and J. J. Kelly of Massachusetts was substituted.

Delegate Carey retired from the Committee on Resolutions and Edward Moore of Pennsylvania was substituted.

Delegate Hayes retired from the Committee on Resolutions and J. M. A. Spence of Wisconsin was substituted.

The Chairman appointed Delegate R. A. Southworth of Colorado on the Press Committee as substitute for Delegate Reynolds, who preferred to act on the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The regular order of business was then resumed.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. BRANDT: I rise to say just one word before we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what?

DEL. BRANDT: I believe the Chair stated that the committees would meet at 9 o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not said the committees would meet. I said the suggestion was made that we do not hold any convention session to-night, as we are not in shape to do any work, and this convention when it adjourns, adjourn to meet at one thirty to-morrow afternoon.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that you have no authority to make such a statement as you have made here, because we have got it fixed in our rules the way we shall meet and the way we shall adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you through with your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: I am.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is not well taken.

DEL. PARKS: I appeal from the decision of the Chair on that point, that he has no authority to make that statement

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that—

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I have the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Brandt, you have the floor unless you are willing to waive it temporarily as a favor to Comrade Stedman, to allow him to finish his motion.

DEL. BRANDT: Very well.

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you, Comrade Chairman, that the rules be suspended and that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at one thirty o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, that was just exactly what I wanted to say a few words about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it didn't take him long to say it. (Laughter.)

DEL. BRANDT: I simply object to adjourning till to-morrow until one thirty for this reason: Your committees will meet at nine o'clock, but what work have they got to do? Nothing. You have got to give them some work. Where are your resolutions coming from? Are you going to meet here, or do you go up and put in your resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt, we will announce beforehand where the committees are to meet. Whosoever has resolutions or anything else to offer will go and offer them. As to the other committees, they have very definite matters to discuss.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey has the floor, Comrade Parks.

DEL. CAREY: In order to have no possible conflict with Roberts—

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Be seated; I haven't recognized you, sir. Comrade Parks will kindly be seated. Delegate Carey of Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: In order to avoid a possible conflict with Roberts (Laughter) I desire to suggest that the motion made by Comrade Stedman is to suspend the rules, and his desire is simply to suspend the rules pertaining to the hour we meet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. CAREY: And that, therefore, it is not necessary to suspend all the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was not the motion.

DEL. CAREY: The motion was that the rules be suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The rules concerning the hour of meeting for to-morrow, that is about all.

DEL. CAREY: Very well, but it was not so stated, and I desire to avoid a conflict with Roberts. (Laughter and applause.)

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the motion which is in substance that we adjourn now to assemble at one thirty o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and let the committees work in the meanwhile, will please say "Aye."

The motion was carried and the convention adjourned until one thirty p. m., Tuesday, May 3.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION

Secretary Mailly called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock.

Delegate Richardson of California was nominated for Chairman of the day by Delegate McKee of California. There being no other nominations, Delegate Richardson was unanimously elected Chairman.

For Vice-Chairman Delegate Snyder of Oklahoma and Delegate Stockell of Tennessee were nominated. Delegate Stockell was elected, and in the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman took the chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The Committee on Credentials, through Delegate Lee, presented a report recommending the admission of Frederick W. Ott as delegate from Wyoming, and Frederick G. Strickland as alternate from Colorado.

On motion of Delegate Jacobsen (Iowa) the report was accepted and the delegates seated.

Cablegram

Delegate Jonas (N. Y.) read in German to the convention a cablegram from the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party of Germany. Secretary Dobbs read an English translation of the cablegram, as follows:

"National Convention Socialist Party, Chicago, Brand's Hall:

"All hail to the comrades assembled for the important work of selecting presidential candidates. Three cheers for the International Socialist Movement.

"The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany."

The reading of the cablegram was received with great enthusiasm.

Delegate Mailly moved that a return cablegram be sent to the German comrades. Seconded and carried.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I desire to make a motion, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials. Last night there was elected a committee to meet the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alliance. Now it has come to the knowledge of the members of this committee that somewhat similar questions will come up in the convention concerning the Italian and other organizations. I would move, therefore, that the functions of this committee be extended so as to include all similar organizations in the United States. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to move an amendment that the functions of the committee elected to confer with the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alliance be so extended as to cover the whole subject of the organization and affiliation of the foreign speaking Socialists in America.

Seconded, and motion as amended carried.

Delegate Lee from the Committee on Credentials presented the following additional credentials: From Delegates Emil Seidel, F. Brockhausen and Frederick Heath, all of Wisconsin; and Frank Kuntz, alternate from Colorado. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates, and the recommendation was concurred in by the convention.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): At the next meeting I shall move to amend Rule 17 so that the same may read as follows: "Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question shall have been called for on matters involved in or pertaining to reports of committees three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before such question is put."

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to the regular order.

Motion seconded and carried.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the National Secretary.

National Secretary's Report

National Secretary Mailly then read his report, as follows:

Comrades: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to

consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earnest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organization representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibilities that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and they should elect as their officials and representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper meed of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted, and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence

through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay, and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encouragement and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and the prevalence of

the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere, perhaps, in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires, to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere there will be fewer locals disband after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization is as yet practically new, and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitution and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority, and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the positions they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself."

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurp-

ing the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in unorganized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affecting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their actions to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction or control over any or all of them. Experience has also already shown that it is impossible to devise a basis of representation upon the committee which will permit of equal representation from all the states. The size of the committee makes the method of transacting business cumbersome, exhausting and expensive.

As a substitute for this I would suggest that there be a National Executive Committee, to consist of seven or nine members selected by referendum of the party at large, regardless of section, with each and all members subject to recall. This would give the entire party membership the choice of its administrative body and ensure representation to the locals in unorganized states and territories which have now no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. The National Secretary should be under the direct supervision of the National Executive Committee, but elected by referendum of the party membership. The acts of the committee upon all matters referred to it could be published regularly in a bulletin issued for that purpose and furnished to every party member.

THE REFERENDUM.

The initiative and referendum involves a principle too sacred and valuable to be used lightly. Recently two referendums were taken upon the same subject within thirty days of each other, and as a result there are now two contradictory clauses in the present national constitution. The provisions for initiating referendums should be changed to conform to the growth of the organization and propositions should be limited in length. A law should be in force and effect at least ninety days before another law upon the same subject could be initiated and submitted to a referendum.

ORGANIZATION AND AGITATION

The work done by the national organizers during the past fifteen months has been productive of much good and seems to have given general satisfaction. The expense incurred in placing and keeping these organizers in the field has been greater than will probably be the case in the future, as the ground covered by

them was mostly new. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the comrades at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the organizers traveled for the national organization there was no need of rendering any financial assistance. If the national office had unlimited resources at its command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations develop they will be able to employ their own organizers, and the necessity for national organizers will become lessened. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers could be improved upon, however, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party service, special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organization, etc.

I take the liberty of proposing to the convention the creation of the office of General Organizer. The activities of this official would not be restricted to any section, and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require personal investigation and action. There has been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to be selected. The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work could be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the formation of the foreign-speaking workers into separate federations to be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be better to have federations as proposed, or to have these workers organized direct into locals and branches of the party is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some specific manner so that a definite line of action can be pursued.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Until recently the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arranging of tours for party lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the locals and oftentimes at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I have attempted, in accordance with instructions from the National Committee, to formulate a definite system of lecture work which would enable the party locals to engage capable lecturers at a normal expense, while guaranteeing these lecturers sufficient remuneration for the labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly successful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obviated by the adoption of definite rules to govern the routing of interstate speakers, which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the work of routing lecturers and organizers when they were unable, for various reasons, to perform the work properly. The blame for this state of affairs has been mostly directed at the national office, when the facts are that in almost every case the routing done by the latter has been more satisfactory in every way. With the facilities now in use, speakers and organizers can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of those states in close proximity to the seat of the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a lecture system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "bureaucracy" at national headquarters for the purpose of victimizing certain speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, the

first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarranted, that I was not actuated by personal motives of any kind, and that I had no other purpose than the co-ordination of the party forces upon a scale which would guarantee economy and better results in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and proclaim to be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized movement when pioneer work was the rule and Socialists were widely scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of speakers did not arise, except in well-organized sections of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has arisen and provoked discussion. This is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist Party should be prepared to accept the control of the party. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party; the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state organizations, and the national workers to the national organization. The question of remuneration is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

SUPPLIES.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a normal price charged in order to bring them within easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. If ordered in large quantities for cash the books can be secured at a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries has also been devised, and when put into use will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

BULLETINS AND REPORTS.

The issuance of weekly bulletins and reports chronicling party affairs and activity has proven of such value that steps should be taken to extend the service. It is essential that the membership be fully informed upon the action of the party officials and party affairs in general. The space in the Socialist press is too limited to publish all of this information, which is of more or less importance. I believe a monthly bulletin should be issued in printed form devoid of editorial matter and devoted entirely to financial, national committee, and organizers' reports, and other details of an official character. The bulletin could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member. This would not prevent the continued issuance to the party press of a weekly bulletin reporting current items of immediate importance.

EXPENSES OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessment of a nominal sum from each member for this specific purpose and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation could be changed, but a more general attendance would be secured. The adoption of this proposition would place all aspirants for election as delegates in the different states upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily in numbers and influence and with its further development will become a most potent factor in shaping the destinies of the movement. Without doubt the general literary and spiritual quality of the press is im-

proving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press that can fittingly represent the Socialist party. The practice of beginning the publication of local papers before the condition of the movement warrants their continuance has a tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, besides making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is much better to increase the usefulness of papers already in the field than to embark upon undertakings which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organization may justify me in stating my views in opposition to such a proposition. Past experience in this direction should be ample warning against its adoption. I believe also that the existence of an independent press, free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest safeguards toward protecting and preserving the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press provides a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hitherto almost invariably grown out of the placing of official organs in the hands of party officials In this field, at least, we can afford to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialists themselves.

CONCLUSION.

I have not considered it necessary to repeat what has already been included in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the showing therein made seems unfavorable, the comrades will bear in mind that the expense recently incurred by assisting the party in Colorado and in the Milwaukee municipal campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your National Secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Martin and James Oneal. They have worked capably and faithfully for the party's interests, and this slight recognition, although inadequate to the proportion of their services, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee and quorum, the party press, the national organizers and lecturers, and the comrades generally throughout the country.

To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manifested by your presence here today. The further advancement of the Socialist cause in America is conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history, with the social forces that make for change working in complete harmony with the Socialist philosophy, with the opportunities for hastening the oncoming Social Revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devotion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than that worthy of the cause having for its realization the emancipation of the working class of the world and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind. Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 1st, 1904.

Financial Statement of National Secretary

From Jan. 1st to April 30, 1904, inclusive:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand Jan. 1st	$ 168.44
January	1,180.93
February	1,719.76
March	1,525.39
April	1,348.22
	$5,942.74

EXPENDITURES.

January	$1,264.45
February	1,689.84
March	1,564.36
April	1,242.85
	$5,761.50
May 1, 1904, balance on hand.	$ 181.24
Assets, outstanding accounts.	750.05
Total balance	$ 931.29
Liabilities	807.71

The liabilities do not include balances due organizers on April account, financial reports having not yet been received.

The balance of $1,828.23 which was owing on Feb. 1, 1903, for old accounts assumed at the unity convention at Indianapolis, 1901, has been entirely paid off.

(Signed) WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

At the conclusion of the reading of the National Secretary's report and financial statement, Delegate Richardson assumed the chair, and recognized Delegate Berger (Wis.), who moved that the report of the National Secretary be received and referred to the proper committees.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the report and financial statement were referred.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to ask whether or not any letters have been received by the National Secretary, the contents of which should be submitted to this convention.

NAT. SECY. MAILLY: All the correspondence is filed away and ready to be submitted if the convention wants it. What correspondence do you refer to? We can bring our letter file up here if you want us to.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): There are letters, as I understand it, that the National Secretary has received that are of special importance. For instance, letters received from a comrade from Kansas. I think that the Secretary will recognize the fact that there are letters and that they are quite important enough to be submitted to this convention tomorrow.

NAT. SECY. MAILLY: There are letters from Comrade Ricker and a great many other comrades, and I think it should be left to the convention to decide whether that correspondence is important enough to be seen. Haven't I got letters from all sections of the country?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, it seems to me that this is rather out of order. Our business was to receive the report of the National Secretary. He has made his report and it has been disposed of. Now, the next order of business is the report of the local quorum, but before that report is presented I will request the Secretary to read the cablegram which is to be sent by this convention.

Secretary Dobbs then read the following cablegram, which was sent in reply to the message received from Germany:

"Executive Committee, Social Democracy of Germany, Berlin: Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German comrades, wishing them ever greater victories over the common enemy of the working class."

The reading of the cablegram evoked loud and prolonged applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, which is the report of the local quorum. Who is to make that report? Is Comrade Work present? Comrade Work is senior member of the local quorum. If the local quorum is not ready to report, we will proceed at once with the other order of business.

DEL. REYNOLDS (Ind.): The local quorum is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Reynolds of Indiana will now present the report of the local quorum.

REPORT OF THE LOCAL QUORUM.

Delegate Reynolds read the following report:

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

The local quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America reports that during the term of their service commencing with July, 1903, they have met upon the call of the National Secretary in Omaha in July, 1903, November, 1903, and January, 1904; in Chicago in March, 1904, and at National headquarters on April 28, 1904. Each meeting was held publicly, open to Socialist comrades, and the questions submitted to, considered or passed upon by the quorum were recorded in the minutes of proceedings kept by the quorum and upon adjournment a full copy of such minutes was transmitted to the National Committee and published in full in

the Socialist press of the country, thus giving full publicity to the business entrusted to the local quorum of the national committee of the Socialist party.

Fraternally submitted,
S. M. REYNOLDS,
VICTOR L. BERGER,
B. BERLYN.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you that the report be accepted and filed.

Delegate Nagel's motion was seconded and the question being put, was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Platform. Is the Platform Committee ready to report?

Delegate M. W. Wilkins stated that the Platform Committee would meet again in the evening, and reported progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Platform Committee reports progress. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is that committee ready to report?

A DELEGATE: They are in session now.

THE CHAIRMAN: That committee being in session they are, of course, unable to report at present. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is that committee ready to report?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We are ready to make a report, Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will hear from Comrade Spargo, and please let us have order. These resolutions, in fact, all parts of these reports, must be heard, or should be heard, by everybody.

DEL. CURTIS (N. Y.): I will suggest to the comrades that we cannot tell whether these resolutions are acceptable or not until we hear them read.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is suggested that the resolutions be read and any that may be in conflict or that are liable to be in conflict with other things that come up may be deferred.

DEL. CURTIS: It isn't whether they are acceptable or unacceptable; we don't know but what they may be acceptable and still be in conflict with the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that there is nothing before this convention except these rules. The gentleman is out of order unless he wants to make a motion. At present there is nothing open for discussion.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with the regular order of business.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Committee on Resolutions report such work as they have already done.

DEL. SLOBODIN: And that no action be taken upon the resolutions until they are printed and furnished to the members of this convention.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): That is a motion that I think should be voted down almost unanimously. I don't know whether the committee has reported or will report all of the resolutions of every nature that are submitted to it, but if it makes such a report there will doubtless be resolutions that we do not want to have printed, and the printing of them would involve a great waste of our time and money, so I think we can safely hear them read first. We have no reason to be afraid of ourselves that we will not know what we want when we hear them, and I think that motion should be voted down.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I wish to state, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that we can trust to the common sense of the committee to quash a resolution of that kind. Any resolution you would vote down would have no show in the committee. That is what we have the committee for, to consider before we do, what is worthy of our consideration, so I am in favor of the motion.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I think it is necessary that we should have these resolutions printed. This is too important a matter to consider without knowing fully what we are considering, and I think these reports should be printed, and I can see no objection to their being printed.

A delegate from Indiana moved the previous question, which motion was seconded. The question was then put, and the motion carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote upon the question that these resolutions be read but not acted upon until after they are printed and copies furnished to this body.

DEL. BERGER: That was not the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was the motion?

DEL. BERGER: Will Comrade Slobodin repeat his motion?

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be not acted upon until a copy can be furnished to each delegate.

The motion was then put and carried.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I rise to a point of information. I desire to know if this committee has power or has been granted the power to quash resolutions that they do not favor, and not to bring them to the surface?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that no such power has been granted to a committee, and if anybody presents a resolution to that committee and they undertake to quash it, he can bring that resolution before this body in spite of them. (Applause.) We will now hear from Comrade Spargo, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): The Committee on Resolutions has prepared only a partial report. We thought it better to present a partial report rather than to incur the risk of any considerable delay this afternoon, and hence the committee will request permission to present the remainder of its report at a subsequent time.

Now the question which has been raised upon the floor this afternoon came naturally before the committee itself as to whether the committee should undertake to suppress resolutions, which, in its judgment, ought not to be considered by any serious-minded body. Such resolutions there might be, but your committee decided that it would not be to the best interests of the Socialist Party in this convention for any committee whatsoever to undertake to keep from the convention what any delegate wanted to bring before the convention. (Applause.) So we, therefore, decided that our business as a Committee on Resolutions, consisted primarily in this: We were to consider each resolution upon its merits. If they were not written in English we were to try and do that part of the work; if we thought that they did not properly come within the sphere or the jurisdiction of our committee, we would refer them to the committee to which they properly belonged, and that upon all such resolutions as we decided to consider, we would report to the convention whether or not we, as a committee, favor such resolutions. In some cases we have had resolutions in which the writers have evidently said the very thing they wanted not to say, and have forgotten the very things they wanted to say, and by a species of clairvoyance the committee has undertaken to fill the void and to say for the framers of the resolutions what the framers of the resolutions started out to say and what they forgot to say. (Laughter and applause.) We have had resolutions consisting of "Whereases" and "Therefore be it resolved" without any resolution at the end, and we had to supply, of course, the resolution at the end. (Laughter and applause.)

A number of resolutions have been referred today to the Committee on Constitution. There was for instance a resolution from the state of New Jersey and from the state of Connecticut, providing that the cost of the national convention, so far as delegates' expenses go, should be made a national charge. We have a similar resolution from New Jersey, but we thought that since it involved in itself a change in the constitution, it would be idle for our committee to bother with it, would be idle for us to trouble the convention with the burden of rejecting it, and so we politely sent it over to the Committee on Constitution, and told them that we did not want that and they were very welcome to it.

We have two resolutions from the delegation from the State of New Jersey. We thought that we could not present the resolutions as they were presented to us. If the New Jersey delegation had little regard for the committee the committee had some regard for the convention, so we have taken the trouble and liberty of trying to say what the delegation from New Jersey wanted to say, except that we have also suggested an important amendment to their resolution. They moved first:

> "Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist party at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensations; and
>
> "Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances

other than usefulness in the propagation of clean cut Socialism;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite, pre-determined salary or fee."

Your commitee reports favorably upon that resolution, and recommends it to the convention.

RESOLUTION NO. 2.

"Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and

"Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class which the party represents; and

"We recommend that as far as possible locals of the Socialist party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

I ought to say that in presenting the resolution in this form, we do so after having amended the resolution in the committee, because in its original form the delegation from New Jersey proposed that the wages of our lecturers and other workers should be based upon the average rate of wages of the party membership. Now your committee thought that since we had not an option upon Mr. Carroll D. Wright, since, perhaps, we were not quite willing yet to expose to the world the average rate of wages of the membership of the Socialist party, it was better to amend the resolution in that direction. (Laughter and applause.)

We report favorably upon the resolution in its amended form.

Local San Francisco submitted the following resolution to the committee:—

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information. Is this the report of the committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the report of the committee so far as they have completed it. We shall hear the resolutions and not pass upon them until they have been printed and copies handed to the delegates.

THE SECRETARY: There are not many of them; sit down. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Barnes was a little late to dinner, that is all. (Laughter.)

DEL. HAYES (O.): Comrade Chairman, I do not want to interrupt the proceedings of the convention, but I was not present when the motion was made that the resolutions be read and then printed and then be taken up and acted upon later. Was that the action taken?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir, that is the action of the convention.

DEL. HAYES: It seems to me, however, that that is a clear waste of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Comrade is out of order.

DEL. HAYES: I would like to see some one make a motion to reconsider and adopt some method to expedite business. If we continue in this manner we will never get through.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is out of order.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that we consider the previous question.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): We have already decided to hear the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the motion out of order and Comrade Spargo will proceed with the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. SPARGO: This is the resolution which came to us from the delegation in California, or rather was sent direct to the National Secretary from Local San Francisco:

"Resolved by the Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, that the Socialist Party condemns all propaganda organizations, not connected with the Socialist Party, doing Socialist propaganda, and that no member of the Socialist Party be a member of any organization not affiliated with the Socialist Party, if said organization is doing Socialist propaganda; and being a member of any organization as before mentioned is sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist Party."

Your committee reports unfavorably. (Loud applause.)

Resolution submitted by Delegate Hoehn, of St. Louis, Mo.:

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, the conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations, and

"Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare;

"Be it resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

(Loud applause.)

Your committee reports favorably. (Loud applause.)

Here is a resolution adopted by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party of California. It deals with matters local to San Francisco, and came before us merely as a request that the statement be read before the convention on account of the information which it contained. It is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a resolution presented to the deliberations of this body. It is a statement containing information which they desire read to the convention. In view of the fact that it has been decided to print these resolutions on behalf of the committee, I spare you the pain of listening to that statement. (Applause and laughter.) I thank you.

Selecting of Time for Nominations

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you now, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with our regular order of business, and that we do so by first reconsidering the order of business. The committees are not yet ready to make their reports and we are hurrying on towards the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now the delegates assembled here do not desire to have this important transaction of the convention come up unexpectedly, while many of the delegates are absent, and, therefore, I move you that on reconsideration of the order of business, we defer the nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President, and that such nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President be set down for Thursday afternoon, and that the order of business be so reconsidered.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to give notice of a motion to change rules 7 and 8 to read as follows, that we proceed with the nominating of President and Vice-President on Thursday, May 5, at 1 p. m. I desire to make the motion for the same reasons which Comrade Slobodin states.

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is to suspend the order of business at that point and take up the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President on Thursday at 1:30 p. m.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me suggest that you put the motion this way, that that be not taken up until the previous orders of business have been entirely disposed of.

DEL. SLOBODIN: It cannot be done, because we will probably have some resolutions referred to the Committees and they will have to consider them and refer those back, and that will go on to the end of the session. In the meantime, we can take up this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is out of order. The gentleman has made a motion that the order of business on the nomination of President and Vice-President be deferred until—what time, please?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That the order of business in that respect be suspended and the nominations be taken up Thursday at 1:30 p. m.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. LEONARD (Minn.): The motion calls for an amendment of a rule which has been adopted, and we cannot amend rules unless proper notice has been given. A motion of that kind can be made at the next meeting, and consequently this motion at this time is out of order.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): A Committee has just reported, and I don't know what action has been taken upon that report. (Cries of "Louder.") I have frequently said when I have started out reforming the world and speaking on a soap-box, that when Gabriel blows his

trumpet somebody will get up and yell "Louder," the same as those in the back part of the room. Now, I say the matter before the house is the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and then let us deal with any changes in the rules. Let us proceed in order. Where is Roberts' Rules on this subject?

THE CHAIRMAN: A point of order has been raised that has not been ruled on yet. Comrade Carey, you just came in, didn't you?

DEL. CAREY: No. Mr. Chairman, I know the convention will agree with this question of personal privilege. I did not just come in. I was in, but as a gentleman delegate, not wishing to offend the lady delegates, I was outside the hall, but in a place where I could smoke without violating the rules. But I listened.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that the Committee on Resolutions, Comrade Carey, has made its report and it has been disposed of. Now the point of order was raised that this motion could not be made without notice having been previously given that it would be made, and that this motion must be made at the next session. I rule that point of order well taken.

DEL. OUTRAM (Mass.): No action has been taken on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and I move that the report be accepted as progressive.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Upon the matter of nominating these candidates, I understand the rule is now that we must either proceed under the regular order of business, or provide a time when we will do it.

DEL. WHITE: I presented notice of a desire to change the rules of order. I had a motive in doing it, and it was to prevent precipitate action in this convention. I want to say to all the members here that I am sufficiently trained in Socialist ethics that when this convention decides who its nominee shall be I shall support him, but I want the opportunity to be given to every delegate to be here at that all-important hour, and I offered that change in order that it could not be said when this convention had adjourned, that this convention had made nominations which were not satisfactory to the great majority of the delegates in this convention. Therefore, I ask that that be changed in conformity to law. I was not present, and you have already decided upon the point of order as raised by a comrade from a Western state, but I believe that it is important that we should do something at this time to prevent an error that we could not recover from later.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that the rule of Roberts' referring to this point on this particular occasion be suspended by this convention.

The motion was seconded, and carried.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I make a motion that the nominations for President and Vice-President take place on Wednesday afternoon at 1:30.

The motion was seconded, and Delegate White (Mass.) moved to amend by making it 1:30 p. m. on Thursday, and the amendment was duly seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST: Several delegates were speaking about this matter yesterday and several of them signified their intention of leaving for home tonight. Some could not stay any longer, some of them would go tomorrow and a good many more will have to leave tomorrow night, so that if we postpone these nominations until Thursday afternoon, there will be a good many states not represented. What difference will it make whether we make these nominations tomorrow afternoon or Thursday afternoon? It would give a good many more delegates a chance to participate in the nominations who otherwise, from personal or business reasons, would be prevented from doing so. There are a good many of us who have simply a few days' time, maybe three or four days, to stay here, and it is necessary that we go home at the expiration of that time, but we would like to participate in that action of the convention. Now I hope the comrades will take that view of it and let us make these nominations tomorrow afternoon. I think it would be more satisfactory to many comrades than to postpone it another day.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I see nothing to be gained by this discussion. The rules of order are that immediately after the adoption of the platform we nominate our candidate for President. To the old capitalistic parties, that is all-important, but with us it is an entirely secondary matter. I believe we can get through with the discussion on the plat-

form before tomorrow evening, and then it is simply a matter of who our banner bearers will be to carry that platform before the people. And why postpone it until Thursday? I hope there will be no change made in the rules of order on this subject.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I would like to know if the comrade has any information as to the number of delegates who are going away tomorrow?

DEL. WALDHORST: I have heard of four from different states, and there will be still more, I suppose.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of information. We are not now working under a suspension of the rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: We are discussing now the matter of setting a certain hour for a certain kind of business.

DEL. MEYER: I rise to make a motion then that we now take up the report of the secretary of the International——

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is entirely out of order.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Comrade Berlyn asks what is the use of discussing this question, and then proceeds to discuss it. We have a motion for Wednesday at 1:30 and for Thursday at 1:30. I say there is no use of us discussing it, but I want to propose an amendment to the amendment and then we can take it up and come to a vote. My amendment will be that the matter be set for a special order at the Wednesday night session.

The motion to amend the amendment was duly seconded.

Delegate Bickett (Ohio) moved that the whole matter be laid on the table. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the whole matter be laid on the table. Those in favor will make it known by saying "Aye." Those contrary, "No." The "noes" seem to have it. The "noes" have it.

A division was called for.

DEL. CAREY: I desire to make this point. That is, from my standpoint, first of all we recognize as Socialists——

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Point of order. A motion to table is not debatable.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion before the house that is not debatable.

DEL. BERGER: There was a call for division.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not hear any call for division.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): It did not come until after the announcement by the chair.

DEL. MEYER: I call the attention of the convention to this fact——

At this point there were a dozen delegates on their feet claiming recognition on points of order and points of information. A delegate finally succeeded in gaining the recognition of the Chair, and raised the point of order that Comrade Meyer had no right to speak on this point while the convention was engaged in taking a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. I did not hear the call for division. Those in favor of——

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State the question.

DEL. CAREY: My question of personal privilege is this, that any member of this convention who has received and is granted the floor upon a question before this convention, is entitled to express his convictions upon that question——

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. CAREY: I submit as a question of personal privilege that no man has a right to raise a point of order on a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. MILLS: My point of order is that it is in the presence of a vote and call for a division, testified to by all the people here, and I want that division taken now. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Those in favor of placing the motion on the table will please rise. Those opposed to tabling that motion will stand. The motion to table is lost by a vote of 73 to 56.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege. Before I discuss any question, I rise to this question of personal privilege—that the chair had decided the vote carried.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: That is right.

DEL. CAREY: And I rose to the floor and the chair recognized me upon the question before the house, and then I was interrupted by a delegate who rose to the point of order that that question that the chair had decided had not been settled, and the chair declared me out of order—which is absolutely in violation of Roberts'. (Laughter and applause.) Isn't that right, Parks?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to answer the question asked.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on, Comrade. The question was not asked——

DEL. PARKS: I understand that Roberts' is laid on the table. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Comrade Carey and the Convention that I did not mean to wrong anybody. I was of the impression that the announcement of the vote was made before the division was called for, but I am informed by some of the comrades that it was not. However, it is all a mistake, and, Comrade Carey, we are perfectly willing to forgive you and all the rest.

DEL. CAREY: But, Mr. Chairman, I want to insist to this convention that if the Socialist movement of this world is to assume the parliamentary powers of this world, they must defend the rights of the delegates. (Applause.) And I have the floor. (Laughter and applause.) I had the floor in accordance with every principle of parliamentary law, not only Roberts', but Cushing and everybody else, and I was summarily throttled.

THE CHAIRMAN: We didn't mean it.

DEL. CAREY: I know you did not, but I refuse to allow my parliamentary rights to be strangled by some gentleman who may rise to a point of order and be recognized. I refuse it, not for my sake, because I can take care of myself, but for the sake of some of those who may not have as good a voice as I have got. That is why I defend the rights of the obscure men as I did in the case of Kerrigan. Now, then, Mr. Chairman, there is my position.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, you have the floor.

DELEGATE CAREY: Very well. Then I will keep it. I submit now, aside from parliamentary discussion——

At this point the speaker was again interrupted by cries of "time" and "point of order," etc.

DEL. CAREY: The chair recognized me on the question of personal privilege. I got through with that and I got the floor again on the question before the house.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): The point of order is that he rose to the question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is speaking now on the question before the house.

DEL. CAREY: Mr. Chairman, I only want to call the attention of the convention——

A DELEGATE: A question of information. Hasn't that whole matter been tabled?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir, it has not. The motion was lost. Comrade Carey is in order and he has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I have a question of personal privilege in connection with the same matter. Will I be heard now?

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that Comrade Mills is clear out of the way in raising a question of personal privilege while another member has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I desire to raise the question of personal privilege after he has finished.

DEL CAREY: On the matter before the house I only desire to state this, I entirely agree with the delegate from Illinois that the important function of this convention is not to determine who shall be candidate for President, Vice-President or any other office. The important function of this convention is first to determine its attitude upon questions that we are concerned with, and then, after we have formed our position, to select those who, in our judgment, are best fitted to carry out that program, to carry that standard. And, therefore, I am for any motion that may be made for the purpose of postponing the nomination of President and Vice-President until our position on pressing matters has been formulated, because we do not want to have even the possibility, if it were possible to admit such a possibil-

ity, that there may be nominated upon our ticket a person not in accord with the expression of this convention. (Applause.) Therefore, I simply ask that the selection of our standard-bearers be postponed until we know what our standard-bearers stand for.

DEL. MILLS: A question of personal privilege. Now, I kept quiet while the comrade under personal privilege read us a lecture on the good behavior of men with good voices. I want simply to make this statement, that when the house was all calling for a division, and when the Chair had decided that the question had been settled before the call for a division was made, final announcement still being before the house, that the gentleman attempted to prevent a division by getting the floor and talking about something else.

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of order, that the gentleman is not speaking to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. MILLS: I am speaking in defense of my action, which was attacked on this floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills, I think this is unnecessary and out of order. I think we had better stop now. (Applause.)

DEL. MILLS: We got a division all right.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I rise to a question of information. If the Committee on Resolutions has not already reported in full, is it in order to submit something to their pleasure?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, if you have any resolutions hand them to the committee at any time.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): In the name of Flannigan of Texas, "What are we here for?" I call for the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the question of postponing action on the nomination of President and Vice-President—first to Wednesday afternoon, second to Thursday afternoon, third to Wednesday evening.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Chairman's statement is hardly correct. The motion is to substitute for the rules providing for the election of our President and Vice-President, to substitute for that another day and another hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: A specified hour.

DEL. MORGAN: Not to postpone, but to substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is in effect to suspend the rules and make the nomination of President and Vice-President a special order of business for Wednesday afternoon at half-past 1. The first amendment is to strike out "Wednesday" and insert "Thursday." The second amendment is to strike out "Thursday" and insert "Wednesday evening session." Now, that is the way it stands. The previous question has been called and there is nothing else in order.

DEL. CAREY: A question of information. When different times are named is it not parliamentary practice to place the longest time first?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I put them in the order in which they were moved.

There were cries of "question, question," from various delegates, and Delegate White of Massachusetts demanded the floor on a question of information.

DEL. WHITE: I rise to a point of information. I want to ask if what we are going to vote on now is the question: Shall the previous question be put?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is it exactly. In other words, that has already been carried.

DEL. WHITE: What has been carried?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it hasn't. The question is——

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): Didn't we vote here by a vote of 79 to 56 to lay this whole matter on the table? Wasn't that the question over which we had the last division?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was voted down.

Delegate Collins of Illinois requested that the present status of the question be stated by the Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: Moved by Slobodin that the regular order of business be suspended and that President and Vice-President be nominated on Thursday afternoon at one p. m. Seconded. Point of order was raised by Leonard of Minnesota. Sus-

tained by the Chair. Slobodin moved that Roberts' Rules of Order be suspended on the point of order of business, and that was carried. Moved—I don't know by whom—to elect President and Vice-President on Wednesday afternoon at 1:30. That was the original motion. Moved to amend to change to Thursday afternoon at 1:30 p. m., which was seconded. Amended further to nominate candidates on Wednesday evening, which was likewise seconded. Then there was a motion made before the house to table the motion, and that was seconded, but the vote was in doubt and a squabble ensued, and the vote was that the entire motion should not be tabled. Consequently we are back to the original motion with its amendments, which is to select our President and Vice-President Wednesday afternoon, Thursday afternoon or Wednesday evening. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, the previous question has been called——

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: It is simply this: I understand that this was made one of the regular orders of business——

A DELEGATE: A point of order. This is altogether out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: If this house wishes I will state my point of order. This procedure that is going on at the present time is based upon a motion that Comrade Slobodin has made to suspend Roberts' (laughter). Now, gentlemen, my point of order is that this does not suspend the rules of this convention because the fixing of the order of business is no part of the manual of Roberts' Rules of Order. It was provided for in the order of business drawn up by the duly elected committee and ratified by this convention, and that is no part of Roberts' Rules of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please let us have order. The question is, shall the main question be now put? This is a vote on the previous question. Those in favor will make it known by saying "aye." Contrary, "no." The "ayes" have it. Now, you have three or four minutes on a side. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information: Some of the delegates want to know if we vote down all of these motions before the house if we will not after all be under the rules of order adopted by this convention before they were suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir.

DEL. CARR: Then we hope that that will be understood. If you vote everything down the rules of order as heretofore adopted will prevail. Let us do it.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I want to ask the Chair, what is the next order of business on the rules? The next in regular order is the nomination of President, and if you don't suspend this order of business you have got to put in the afternoon nominating your candidates. The committees are not ready to report.

A DELEGATE: No, that is not right.

DEL. CARR: If we are to be under the rules——

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I raise the point of order that when the previous question has been called for absolutely nothing is in order but the vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, you don't mean the vote. You are out of order.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I want a ruling on that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention has already determined that three men may speak on each side. (To Delegate Carr.) On which side is this comrade speaking?

DEL. CARR: He is asking for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: He should speak on one of the two sides.

DEL. CARR: I am still speaking on the question of information, so we may know where we are at. I am of the opinion that if all this is voted down the order of business will be the nomination of National Officers, after the report of the Committee on Platform, the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions have all been in and acted upon. And that will be about Friday or Saturday afternoon.

I am still in favor of voting all these motions down, so we may hear the reports of these committees and act upon them before we nominate our candidates. (Applause.) Now, if you will clear us up on this point, then we will vote all these things down and nominate our President and Vice-President after all these committees have made their reports and the reports have been acted upon. (Applause and cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, now, just a moment. Let me explain——

A DELEGATE: I ask the floor to speak to this question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will give you the floor in just a moment.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): My rights as the mover of the motion——

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on. I want the matter settled first. I want to say in answer to this inquiry that is made of me, we take up the first order of business this afternoon, for instance, the report of the National Secretary; then the report of the National Quorum; then comes the report on the platform. They were not ready and we had to pass on to the next order of business. The next order of business was the report of another committee, and they were not ready. We were compelled to pass to the next order of business. We have disposed of that—the resolutions committee. Now, we will have to go on to the next order of business, and that is the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now, that is in answer to the Comrade's question.

DEL. WHITE: As the mover of the motion——

DEL. TAFT: A parliamentary question: My question is whether it will not be possible for this convention to suspend the rules and provide for other business.

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DEL. WHITE: I demand my rights as the mover of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: My dear sir, you will have your rights in a minute.

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I am opposed to the motion——

A DELEGATE: A point of order: The previous question has been called for and nothing is in order but the vote, and I demand the vote.

DEL. BLOCK (Ill.): I will ask if the Committee on Constitution is not ready to report?

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know.

DEL. BLOCK: Why don't you ask?

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Delegate Farrell): Go on, you have the floor.

DEL. FARRELL: As I understand the rules of this convention, when a question is up for disposal three delegates are entitled to speak on each side of the question before it is voted on, and I for one, wish to speak on this in accordance with the rules we have adopted. As a delegate who wishes to see every delegate in this convention thoroughly satisfied in regard to nominations for President and Vice-President, who shall bear the banner of this party in the next national campaign, I am in favor of not delaying the nominations, at least, not later than to-morrow night, Wednesday night—which is the amendment to the amendment before the house, and which will be voted on first. The question has been raised here whether it would be advisable to adopt the platform first. It is my opinion that whoever is chosen by this convention to act as a candidate for President or Vice-President of the Socialist Party of this country will be thoroughly satisfied with the platform that this convention may see fit to adopt. I believe that any man that may be elected in that way will have confidence that this convention will adopt a platform that will be in accordance with the Socialist propaganda and the Socialist Party in general; and that is the reason I would like to see this amendment carried that the nominations be delayed not later than to-morrow night's session at the latest.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise for information. I started from Minnesota some time ago expecting to attend a Socialist convention. I want information as to whether I have landed in Tammany Hall or a Republican convention. I want to know whether this is proper Socialist conduct on this floor. It appears to be more a struggle of factions than an effort to do business. We came here not for the purpose of nominating a President and Vice-President, as the one object of this convention, but we came here for the purpose of understanding what should be the purpose of the Socialist program, and I want to

know it. (Applause.) And I want to say right here that you can't drive me off the floor any more than you can Carey. I have got as much right as Carey, if Carey is a prominent man and eloquent. You can expel me if you want to, but I am going to have my rights as well as the rest.

DEL. WHITE: I want to say, Comrade Chairman, that the inquiry of the comrade from Illinois addressed to the Chairman of the Convention settles the question. The Chair has decided that if the committees are not now ready to report then we must proceed to the nomination of our national standard-bearers. That being the case, the proposition which comes immediately before the consideration of the comrades here is, are you ready at this time to nominate the candidates? The Assistant Secretary, who made the motion for to-morrow night, in order that some delegates might have the opportunity before they left for their homes of voting for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, declared only yesterday in this convention that it was the duty of the convention to declare the platform of principles upon which the candidates were to stand, before they should be nominated. And certainly his position in making that amendment to the motion is not consistent to-day. If what he said yesterday was true it is also true to-day, and I believe that we will be conserving the energies of this organization if we defer this until Thursday afternoon, rather than to attempt to precipitate action in consequence of not having anything else to do on the matter of the order of rules. Therefore, I trust that the convention will vote to defer action upon the presidential nominee until Thursday afternoon at 1 o'clock.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I desire to speak against the motion to fix time. I may be under a wrong impression, but it occurs to me that under this order of business, the one following successively after the other, that the contemplation and understanding of everyone in this convention is that we not only come to the report, but we actually get the report. Now we passed from one of these reports to the other and the gentlemen on these committees were not ready to report. That does not give us the report. The contemplation of the convention in adopting this order of business, as I understand it here, is that these reports should actually be made. That would place the nominations after the reports were actually made—not after they were called for and not received. (Applause.) I believe if we wait for these reports to be made we will probably pass over Thursday evening, and perhaps Saturday evening, as far as that is concerned. I don't know how long it will be, and I am not contemplating how long it will be, but it seems to me there is no necessity for a change at all, and that these reports ought to all come in and that the last and most important thing—I don't know whether you consider it the most important or not, but I do. I consider it a very important question as to whom we place on our platform to run as our candidate. Some of you consider the other thing of more importance. That is a matter of opinion. But I believe if we wait until we get these reports we will have sufficient time without the necessity of setting any particular time. Another point I want to make while I am on floor, and that is this: The probability is if we go immediately into the nomination of candidates, after that is done we will lose a great many more delegates than we will if we hold the nominations until they are reached in their regular order. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, we had better come to a vote on this. We are killing a whole lot of time. (To Delegate Slobodin). On which side do you desire to speak?

Delegate Slobodin of New York spoke in favor of setting a special time for the nomination of candidates, to be followed by the consideration of the reports of the committees as they were turned into the convention, stating that he could not see any reasonable ground for opposing such a procedure.

Among the delegates who attempted to secure recognition, the Chair recognized Delegate Ault of Idaho and asked him upon which side he desired to speak.

DEL. AULT: I don't know whether I am opposing anything, but I am against fixing the time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you have the floor.

DEL. AULT: Comrade Chairman, the idea strikes me like this, to begin with: Suppose we invited a gentleman here and asked him to sit down and pro-

vided no chair for him to sit on? That is just what you are doing here. You propose to nominate a candidate on a platform that does not exist. I believe with Comrade Woodbey here, that the proper procedure is to follow our order of business as provided heretofore. This order of business has not been carried out because our committees have not reported, and you propose to put the cart before the horse when you propose to nominate a candidate before we adopt the platform of the party. While I would be in favor, if it were possible, of nominating the candidates at once so that comrades who are obliged to leave early may have the opportunity of participating in that action, yet I do not believe it is correct. I do not believe it is legal according to the laws that we have adopted to govern the convention, because by so doing we are nominating our candidates before we hear the reports of the committees.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): I wish to offer a substitute motion——

THE CHAIRMAN: That is out of order, the previous question having been called for.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): Before putting the vote, please explain the nature of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes. We vote first upon the amendment to the amendment, which is to the effect that to-morrow evening, the Wednesday session, be given to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

The motion was then put and division being called for, the Chair stated that the amendment to the amendment was defeated by a vote of 85 to 80, and thereupon put the vote upon the amendment fixing the time at Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock. A division being called, the Chair stated:

"All those in favor of that amendment fixing the time at Thursday at 1:30 will please stand. Those opposed to Thursday at 1:30—that motion is lost. There is no question about the vote. It is not necessary to count. By 2 to 1, the motion is lost. There were only 64 for it, and there was nearly double against it."

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We demand a recount of both votes on that motion, pro and con.

THE SECRETARY: There were 64 votes for Thursday afternoon, and as in the previous question there were 85 against and 81 for, there could be no doubt that the motion was lost. (Cries of "Oh, no, oh, no; count them, count them.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, here, comrades, just be quiet a moment——

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order; we have already taken the affirmative vote and it has been counted.

THE CHAIRMAN: It being questioned, we will take it again. Those in favor of Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock will stand until counted. (65 votes were counted.) Now those opposed will stand. (90 votes were counted.) The motion is lost by a vote of 65 to 90. Now, comes the question: Shall the nominations of President and Vice-President be made a special order of business for to-morrow, Wednesday, at 1:30 o'clock? Those in favor may stand. Those opposed may stand. The motion is lost.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Col.): Comrades, our rule that we have adopted provides that the nominations for President and Vice-President shall come after the adoption of the platform. (Applause.) No comrade in this audience is wise enough to designate at this time at what hour that platform will be adopted. It is our business when we come to the special rule that we are now on to pass it until former rules have been complied with (Applause), and to pass it without date.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make that as a motion?

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: I do, that we pass this rule without date, without fixing the time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I understand that there are two committees now ready to report.

(Cries of "Good," and loud applause.)

DEL. MAILLY: I move that we proceed with the report of these committees.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state that the motion is superfluous. If the committees are ready to report I call for the report of the committee on platform. (Applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, in behalf of the Committee

on Platform I have to report that we are not ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not ready to report. Then I will call for the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is the Committee on Municipal and State Program ready to report?

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): No, but the Press Committee is ready.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt me. I want to ask if the Committee on Municipal and State Program is ready to report?

DEL. JONAS: The Press Committee is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, I have called for the Platform Committee and the Municipal and State Program, both of which I was informed were ready. There seems to be no response from either.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, the Committee on Trades Unions is ready to report through its chairman, Max Hayes. I move you that its report be received.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Trades Unions be now received.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): What does Roberts' Rules say about that?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am told that Roberts' Rules of Order says that the reading of the report is its reception. The comrade had better read Roberts' Rules of Order. (Laughter.)

The motion is that the report of the Committee on Trades Union be now received.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the committee ready to report through Comrade Hayes of Ohio?

Delegate Hayes of Ohio then came to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before that committee renders its report, I have a telegram here which I desire to read. It is as follows:

"President of the National Socialists' Convention, Brand's Hall:

"Reno, Nevada, Socialist Local, sends greetings and favors Debs for President. A. A. HIBBARD,

"Secretary."

(Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Hayes will now report for the Committee on Trades Unions.

Report of Committee on Trades Unions

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Your Committee on Trades Unions begs leave to submit the following report:

The Trade and Labor Union movement is the natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class take possession of the means of production and distribution, and establish their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The Trades Union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle.

In accordance with decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the Trade and Labor Unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialistic principles."

DEL. HAYES: I wish to add that the committee has adopted a supplementary report which reads as follows:

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious 'open shop' system in governmental institutions, national, state or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

Resolved, That this convention warns the organized workers of this country to be on guard against the attacks upon their funds, individual and collective, for striking, boycotting, picketing, etc.

"*Resolved,* That we declare in favor of a general eight-hour law, and point to the attitude of the old parties upon this question, in Congress, in Colorado, and various other states.

"*Resolved,* That all the signs of the times indicate that the capitalist class of this country, through the medium of the Democratic and Republican parties, are seeking to destroy the labor movement by means of injunctions against the movement, and by legislation limiting the rights of organized labor.

"*Resolved,* That this vicious work can only be prevented by united political action of labor on the lines of the class struggle.

"*Resolved,* That we call upon the wage workers to join the Socialist party with a view to overthrowing the political condition that makes it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

(Signed.)

MAX HAYES, Chairman,
DAN A. WHITE,
ADAM L. NAGEL,
JOHN COLLINS,
JACOB HUNGER,
JAMES F. CAREY,
G. A. HOEHN,
FRANK A. SIEVERMAN.
GUY E. MILLER,
Secretary."

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that the report of the Trades Union Committee be sent to the printer before it is finally acted upon by this convention.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. Is there any discussion?

DEL. SPENCE (Wis.): I move that the report proper be so received and printed, and that the supplementary report, which consists of these resolutions, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is, you offer that as a substitute to the motion of Comrade Jonas?

DEL. SPENCE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does that motion meet with a second?

The motion was not seconded.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): The second part of the motion that the supplementary report be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, in my opinion, is out of order, as this Committee on Trades Unions was appointed especially for the Trades Union resolutions, and they are the ones to pass upon the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that the motion to refer back that portion of the report has not yet been seconded.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that it might be wise to refer the general program of the Trades Union Committee to the printer before we take action upon it, but in these specific cases, in which the committee thought best to make a declaration of our position, it seems to me that this convention is amply able to take care of these four specific propositions, and to have them read now, and so save time. There is going to be a great deal of oratory on this question, and we might just as well dispose of these matters while we have nothing else in particular to do. You certainly all know the position of the Socialist party upon the open shop as represented by President Roosevelt. You know what stand you ought to take on the eight-hour proposition and on the injunctions. We are able to express our opinion right now without any hesitancy whatever, and it seems to me that that is the course which this convention should pursue if it is to economize time. Therefore, I wish to move that the general program be referred to the printer as in the case of the previous committee, and that we now discuss seriatim the four propositions submitted by the committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move,

Comrade Chairman, that we now adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: This last motion is out of order. There is already a motion before the house that must be disposed of.

DEL. JONAS: Then I have an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is not proper in the shape of an amendment. If you offer it as a substitute it would stand.

DEL. JONAS: I wish to offer it then.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, but you are out of order when the Chair is trying to state the present amendment before the house. The substitute has been offered that the first part of this report be referred to the printer and the second part be taken up seriatim and discussed and acted upon by this convention.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. SPARGO: My point of order is that the previous substitute to refer the latter part of the report to the Committee on Resolutions was not seconded, so the Chair states. One delegate did rise and second the motion as a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: I certainly recognized no second.

DEL. SPARGO: Well, a delegate rose and seconded the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not recognize the second and I cannot sustain it

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I wish to make the motion that the proposition be laid on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which proposition?

DEL. DALTON: The motion to refer to the printer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The whole thing?

DEL. DALTON: Yes, I move to lay the whole thing on the table.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): It seems to me that the two parts of the report of the Trades Union Committee should be considered separately. If I at all understood the purpose of the election of that Trades Union Committee it was that that committee should take cognizance of the particular question of the attitude of this party towards the trades unions, or the relation of this party towards trades unions, and that is a question by itself; a question upon which there is a difference of opinion in this convention, and this convention represents the differences in opinion of the rank and file of the party. That is a question upon which there should be full and free discussion, and it should be discussed as a separate matter. It is a question of debating the outrages that have been committed by the capitalists upon the trades unionists and organized working people of this country. That is a question upon which we had better introduce resolutions to be followed. But, it is a separate matter entirely and should be so taken up. It was for this reason I should have seconded the motion of Comrade Spence if Delegate Benessi had not seconded it, and I might add that to my knowledge the Committee on Resolutions has already in its hands certain resolutions bearing upon this same question, this same matter, upon which we should have certain well worded resolutions to be published for propaganda purposes, of the outrages in Colorado and of many other outrages that have been committed. Now, it seems to me only reasonable that these resolutions, this latter part of the committee's report, should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions in order that the matter may be brought together into a single report, and in order that its style may be made as good as possible, to be used, as I say, for propaganda purposes. Now, since the Chair has ruled that the motion of Comrade Spence, the amendment or substitute, as the case may be, of Comrade Spence, was not seconded, I ask may I renew at this point the motion of Comrade Spence that this latter portion of the report of the Committee on Trades Unions be referred to the Committee on Resolutions: Will it be in order for me to put that motion before the house at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot offer it as a motion, but you can as an amendment to the motion.

DEL. LEE: Then I offer that as an amendment to the motion.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Let me suggest to Comrade Lee that he ask for a

division of the question. This is a committee of which I am a member, and I suggest that he ask for a division of the question.

DEL. LEE: I recognize the wisdom of the suggestion and I ask that the question be divided.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I desire to say that while I have no objection to the division of the question, I certainly do object at this point to referring the first resolution reported to us to the printer. As we stand now, I understand we have absolutely no other business before us. If we send this one to the printer we will probably have nothing else to do for the rest of the day, whereas otherwise we might dispose of this resolution and then probably take up the report of the Committee on Constitution which is also not printed yet. Now I fully recognize the wisdom of having important resolutions printed and giving each member of the convention a copy of them before taking a final vote. Nevertheless I consider it of more importance to utilize every hour we have before us, after having practically frittered away three days already, and I would therefore oppose the motion to refer the resolution to the printer now, and hope the delegates will vote it down and take up the resolution now.

DEL. ZORN (Ohio): I want to speak in favor of the motion and I hope that the resolution will be given to the printer. I tell you, comrades, the organization we represent stands for something, it stand for Socialism, and this resolution is an important one and I feel that it should be printed and placed in the hands of each delegate before final action is taken. (Applause.)

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I second the motion of Comrade Spence for this reason: As Comrade Lee has stated, I also did not understand that the Committee on Trades Unions would bring in a report of that kind, and when they did I seconded the motion that it be printed for the purpose that it might go into the hands of the comrades, and that they could read it carefully and think it all over and then come to this convention and be able to state their views and positions more clearly on the subject than if we wrangled over it here

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): Comrade Chairman and Delegates: I seconded the motion of the comrade over there a while ago. I am a trades unionist and also a Socialist, or rather, first I am a Socialist, and, second, I am a trades unionist. I want to stand for our party as far as it is possible to do it without conflicting with Socialistic principles, and I would like to have a chance to study those resolutions. I don't want to vote against them and I don't want to vote for them until I can understand them, and I believe it is of the utmost importance that every one understands those questions before we act upon them.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I want to say that the committee has consulted upon the propositions that are before the house relative to referring its report to the printer and in view of the continuous and constant delay that has taken place here for three days, we have no objection to referring this along with the balance of the business, so long as we get home some time between this and Labor Day. (Laughter and loud applause.) The committee would very much have preferred to have had action upon this report, to have transacted some business here this afternoon, but apparently the delegates are not here for the purpose of transacting business, but merely for the purpose of raising points of order against each other. (Applause.) Rising to questions of personal privilege, asking for foolish information, running out and coming in and trying to vote upon questions that have already been decided, and a lot of other nonsensical things, including the smoke nonsense. (Applause.) I want to say in closing that if you continue in this manner of doing business as you have been doing in the last three days you will not get through much before the Presidential election closes in November. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

The previous question was called for and seconded, and, the question being put, the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute motion is this, if I have not forgotten it: That the first part of the report be referred to the printer and the second part, made up of those resolutions, be taken up seriatim and discussed. Am I right on that? I believe that is the substitute motion. Now all those in favor of that motion will please say "Aye."

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I want to amend the substitute so that instead of the second part being taken up seriatim it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A DELEGATE: That amendment has already been made.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, amendment to the effect that the second part be also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): Comrade Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we cannot stop to debate at this time.

DEL. HOEHN: I should like to speak on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are too late.

DEL. HOEHN: I do not like to raise points of order, but I will have to raise one. My point of order is that the previous question had been ordered and after the previous question had been ordered and a portion of the question voted upon, you recognized a delegate to make another amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, no, he called my attention to the fact that I was wrong and he was right. I had overlooked the amendment he called my attention to

DEL. HOEHN: How do we know he is right?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the gentleman is out of order. We are now voting upon the amendment and discussion is out of order.

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. It would seem to me that it would facilitate the work of this convention if the secretary would read the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio.): Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL HAYES: My point of order is that on a question or vote that is to be taken, as I understand it, the rules were adopted to give each side opportunity to debate.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Comrade Hayes, you were not in this room when the question was put. That privilege was declined and it is too late now.

DEL. HOEHN: I want to ask the Chairman, has anybody exhausted the eighteen minutes that is assigned delegates upon this question after the vote has been ordered upon the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I asked that question, has anybody exhausted that eighteen minutes?

THE CHAIRMAN: I answered it. I offered the privilege and called for the three-minute speeches, and no one responded and we went ahead, and now we are going ahead. (Applause and cries of "Go on.")

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair is appealed from. Comrade Dobbs will kindly take the chair.

Secretary Dobbs then took the chair.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Gentlemen, the decision of the chair has been appealed from.

DEL. HOEHN: My reasons for appealing from the Chair are briefly these——

DEL. MANCE (Ill.): Point of order. The question is not debatable.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: My reason for appealing from the decision of the Chair is because under our rule there are eighteen minutes assigned to delegates in order to debate the question after the motion has been passed and a vote ordered upon the question. I had forgotten that a few moments ago and a delegate reminded me of it. Now I say that nobody up to date has taken advantage of these eighteen minutes allowed under our rules, and until this matter is disposed of it is within the province of any six delegates to avail themselves of that opportunity, and I say it was clearly intended under the rules to let those interested have their say without ditching them. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state, as I have already stated, that after the motion for the previous question had been called for I distinctly said, "Is anybody

ready for the three-minute speeches? The time is here." I gave time enough for anybody to take the floor. Nobody did so. I then proceeded to take a vote on the last question, the proper one, and while proceeding to do so the gentleman claimed the floor and I ruled him out of order, and I still rule that he is out of order.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Comrades, you have heard the respective statements. Those who are in favor of sustaining the Chair will manifest it by saying Aye. The Ayes have it, and the Chair is sustained. (Loud Applause.)

Delegate Richardson here resumed the chair.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): As a member of the committee let me say that the Committee on Trades Unions are perfectly willing to have their report go to the hands of the printer.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to send the last part of the report, the resolutions, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The question was then put and the vive voce vote leaving the Chairman in doubt, a division was called for and a rising vote taken, with the following result: Ayes, 71; Noes,, 55; and the amendment was declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion as amended, now is that the first part of the report be referred to the printer, and the second half to the Committee on Resolutions.

The question was then put to a vive voce vote, and a division called for.

A rising vote was then taken and the motion carried as follows: Those in favor, 75; opposed, 48.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Trades Unions will present the printer with the first part of their report, and the Committee on Resolutions with the second part of their report, in accordance with this motion, or they will be hanged without the benefit of clergy. (Laughter.)

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move we adjourn.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move we adjourn until seven thirty o'clock this evening.

The motion was seconded.

After several announcements had been made by the Chairman as to the meetings to be held by the various committees, the question was then put on Delegate Nagel's motion, and the convention adjourned to reconvene at seven thirty p. m.

EVENING SESSION

The Chairman called the convention to order at 7 o'clock, but owing to a misunderstanding as to the hour for assembling there were few delegates in the hall when the convention was called to order, and a recess was taken until 7:30 o'clock, at which time the convention was again called to order.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Since the close of the last meeting, I have estimated that there are probably 300 people here, delegates and people who are watching the convention, who came from outside the city, whose expenses cannot be less than a dollar and a half a day, and the loss of whose wages cannot be less than two dollars and a half a day, making for each four dollars a day. Multiply that by 300 and you have $1,200 a day, or $2 a minute, figuring ten hours a day. Of course to you trade unionists that work eight hours it will make it a little more expensive. Now this foolishness that we had this afternoon is costing the delegates here two dollars a minute, and when we go back home and they figure up this expense they may make us feel that we ought to have been a little more serious. I therefore move you that the rules by which three men on each side of a question be heard after the previous question had been moved and carried, be changed to two, one on each side, the mover of the motion being given the floor in favor, and anyone who can get the attention of the Chairman on the negative side.

Seconded.

DEL. SAUNDERS (Ill.): A point of order. It is that we cannot entertain that motion on account of the fact that we have not suspended the rule on that

point. Therefore, it is out of order. We would have to suspend the rule before we could pass that motion.

The point of order was sustained by the Chair.

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved that the rules be suspended. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the rule permitting three members to speak on a side three minutes each after the previous question has been carried, be suspended.

Delegate Parks moved to lay the motion on the table. Seconded, but lost.

Delegate Slobodin moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

The motion to suspend the rule was then put, and the Chair declared the result in doubt. A standing vote was taken, resulting in 70 for suspension, 26 against, and the rule was declared suspended.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I move that in the rule the words "three on a side" be stricken out, and "one on a side" be inserted.

Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Constitution is ready to report. What is your pleasure?

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I move that we proceed to the report of the committee.

Motion seconded and carried.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

DEL. HILLQUIT, on behalf of the committee: Your committee is happy to announce that it finished its labors in one session, and it is further happy to announce that its report is ready for your consideration. If you wish to take it up we will have no trouble whatever in disposing of the entire matter in this session, so that when we adjourn we may have disposed of one at least of the important subjects before this convention. I will not make any speech or explain to you the general scheme of the constitution. We will take is up clause by clause, and if required I will give you such explanation as the committee deems necessary.

The constitution as submitted by the committee was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. What is your pleasure?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I move you that it be taken up section by section, and that those parts to which there is no objection be considered passed, and the other parts taken up and discussed.

Seconded.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move as a substitute that the report be printed in the *Appeal,* and that the rule be suspended and the convention adjourn until to-morrow at 10 o'clock so that the various committees can complete their work. (Seconded.) There is no use tying up the committees here to-night and then to-morrow lose three or four hours and have the committees unable to report until the day after. By adjourning now we can have their reports to-morrow instead of the day after.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The copy is in the hands of the printer and will be ready to-morrow morning. I desire to state further that I personally hope we will commence to do some other business than adjourning. This is not a platform, nor is it even a resolution. It is not a question of program. It is not one document merely. It consists of several provisions. If any provision is read and is not clear to the delegates it may be repeated over and over until it is clear. In this way it will be as clear as if it was printed, and we might, to better purpose than adjourning, pass the evening in discussing this constitution, and perchance disposing of it, and do the business we are here for rather than to adjourn for the printing. (Applause.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): To adjourn at the right time is a really good thing to do and gains time. This constitution needs to be considered, not section by section, but as a whole, by men who can look at it all together. I would like to consider it that way, and I know others would. I do not want to hear it read indistinctly in this hall and then have to vote yes or no, because for the next four years we are going to be governed by this constitution or else be taking continual referendum votes. If we adjourn now it will save another day of expense and half a dozen referendums after awhile. It seems to me we want to give this proper consideration and be sure what we are doing. We would do better by doing this thing

properly. It is no disgrace to adjourn, and the boys are working hard and need the time to rest.

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): While we could get along for the next four years without any constitution, I claim that the reading or adopting of this constitution to-night will not interfere with the reports of the other committees. This will have to be read article by article, and adopted article by article, whether it is in print or in writing, and I am in favor of taking up the constitution to-night and doing what we can with it to-night. (Applause.) I move the previous question.

Motion ruled out of order.

DEL. MAILLY: I regret the tendency on the part of some of the delegates to minimize the importance of some of the real work of this convention. In my opinion we do not meet here only to nominate candidates. I believe that we have met here to formulate laws for the party, measures that will enable us so to conduct our business that we can make a successful campaign, not only this year, but always, in all the years to come. (Applause.) If there are delegates on the floor who think that the only thing this convention was called for was to nominate candidates, they show, in my opinion, a great lack of comprehension of the real work of the convention. (Applause) Now I have not seen the report. I have just had handed to me a copy of the report of the Constitution Committee. I have not had time to study it. I have only looked over it a little, and I disagree with a great part of it. Now, I want a chance to study it. When it is read, when it comes before this convention, I want to see what it is, before my eyes, because I know how important it is to the organization. For fifteen months the party, the national office, has been tied up through a deficient constitution, a constitution that was not worth the paper it was printed upon. (Applause.) We have been hampered by that constitution. We have been unable to carry on the work that we should have done. If we have made progress it was not because of the constitution, it was in spite of the constitution. We have had referendums of the National Committee and the party that would have been avoided if we had had a proper constitution, and I think the best thing this convention can do is to adjourn and give the committees time to act. The members of some of the most important committtes are compelled to be absent to act on these committees while the convention is in session, while important matters are coming up affecting the interests of the party and the work of the party, and it is not fair to the members of the committees. I am on the Platform Committee. We are going to meet soon. When the convention considers the constitution, I want an opportunity to discuss it, I want an opportunity to consider it, and I won't have the opportunity if I look after my work as a member of the committee, and I believe the most sensible thing for you to do—you will save time by it in the long run—is to give the committees time to shape their work properly. You had a committee that made a report this afternoon, and look at their work; it was imperfect because they had no time to do anything. They should have time to edit it and present a proper report. Instead of that you wasted all the afternoon on it. If you will give your committees time to do their work it will be presented in convenient form, and you will get through with your business much quicker. I believe the thing to do is to adjourn until to-morrow morning so that you can properly hear the reports of the committees.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): That would be all right if we had unlimited time, but it seems that we have got to hurry some of the proceedings. I maintain that while this constitution is of great importance, because the main thing is to get the general plan and outline of the constitution, leaving certain portions open to modification or amendment by referendum, while other propositions are not subject to amendment. It is important that we should have ample time for discussion on the question of platform and the question of state and municipal program and the question of the trades unions and other resolutions that are to be brought up here; and I, therefore, believe that we ought to dispose of this if possible, to-night, or, at any rate, to make what progress we can and leave other time to discuss other questions.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I am in sympathy with anything that will save time, but we are not responsible for the arrangements by which we have lost time. I do not believe we are doing the

cause we are here to represent justice by ignoring questions now for no other purpose than to save time. I want to get through with the work of this convention, but this is by no means the most important work; the program is by no means the most important work. I maintain that there are two fundamentals that come before this convention; one is the drafting of a platform, a declaration of principles, the basis upon which we stand; next, the constitution of our party, that is the fundamental business upon which the organization rests that gives expression to the platform and that is pledged to put it in operation. You can think of no two propositions that are going to come before this convention that take precedence over those two. You have had minor matters that had to be printed; your committee on resolutions, with more or less nonsensical propositions to deal with, has had to have its matter printed; you have had the committee on trades unions here beseeching you to take this work off their hands and consider it, but you have had to have part of its work printed and the other part sent to a wiser committee. Neither of these two propositions was approximately as important as the adoption of a constitution. (Applause.) I cannot sit here and vote intelligently upon a constitution without having the constitution before me, and I refuse to be led blindfolded into a vote because we have been so short-sighted as to waste time upon matters that we could easily have disposed of at the time they were brought before us. I insist that if there is any reason for printing anything, it is, first, the report of the committee on platform, and, second, the report of the Committee on Constitution.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Have we not forgotten that we have before us the supplemental report of the Committee on Trades Unions, and all we can do is to consider that?

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): That has been referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): There is the matter of the expenses of delegates. We have had a Committee on Resolutions, and those matters have been referred to the Committee on Constitution. I want to know from the Committee on Constitution what has been done with those resolutions. I want to serve notice upon this convention that I shall move for an amendment to the constitution providing for the payment of expenses of delegates to this convention, in accordance with the instructions from my state.

A delegate moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee stands ready to report now.

The previous question on the motion to suspend the rule regarding adjournment was put and lost.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): There is a motion that the rules be suspended, and that is all the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to suspend the rules regarding adjournment or compelling adjournment at 9:30.

DEL. BARNES: A point of further information. What became of Comrade Stedman's motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: What motion?

DEL. STEDMAN: My motion to adjourn until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

DEL. BARNES: That question has not been passed?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the motion is out of order now.

A delegate moved that the convention hear the report of the Press Committee.

DEL. BARNES: We have assembled here and remained into the evening, and if it is possible to continue business I think we should remain in session and do such business as comes to hand. However, I want to say that I am in favor of laying over the report of the Constitution Committee and having it printed so that it is before all the delegates for intelligent action, and am not in favor of adjourning at this time. If it can be shown that there are other committees prepared to report we can consider their work and act upon it, and for that reason I am not in favor of adjourning to-night, but I am in favor of that part of Comrade Stedman's motion which provides for printing the constitution in the *Appeal*, and that action be deferred until to-morrow morning. That is the motion as I understand it.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): The motion is to suspend the rules, and that is under discussion.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to ake a motion——

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to uspend the rules has been defeated.

DEL. BARNES: I submit that the ivision of a motion does not destroy art of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no otion for division.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of nformation. Is there any motion be- ore the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Nothing now.

DEL. PARKS: I move that we defer ction on the constitution until the reg- lar session to-morrow morning.

Seconded.

Delegate Phelan (Ill.) moved the revious question. Seconded.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS Wis.): There is a motion before the ouse on the minutes as follows: Moved hat the report of the Committee on Constitution be taken up seriatim and hat those sections not objected to be onsidered as passed. Then it was noved by Stedman (Ill.) to amend so hat the rules be suspended and the ouse adjourn to meet at 10 a. m., and hat the report of the committee be rinted in the *Appeal*. That last motion vas ruled out of order. We then voted gainst suspending the rules, which rings you back to the original motion, vhich is that the constitution be taken p seriatim, discussed and passed.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of in- ormation. The vote that was taken vas on the previous question and not pon the motion and I think the Chair s wrong.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: think that is right.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): If the ques- ion to adjourn is voted down. I want o make a motion that the report of the Committee on Constitution be sent to he printing office so that we can have omething here in the morning.

Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair ac- cept an amendment at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DEL. BARNES: I move you, there- fore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

Motion put and carried, on the previous question, and the main question as to postponement was then carried.

Delegate Taft (Ill.) moved to take up the report of the Press Committee. Seconded and carried.

The Secretary announced that arrangements had been made to take a large photograph of the delegates immediately upon the adjournment of the Wednesday morning session.

Delegate Bandlow announced that an invitation had been extended by the Socialist Saengerbund to such delegates as were able to attend a social gathering arranged for Tuesday evening at the Revere House.

Report of Press Committee

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee has the following resolutions to report. The first resolution is one which has been presented by a number of locals and, therefore, we submit it to the convention. The particular resolution which we read is one which comes from Local San Francisco, and reads as follows:

> "*Resolved*, That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist Movement of America to have a National Socialist Paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party, and Local San Francisco of the Socialist Party hereby instructs Comrade P. Deutzman and Comrade P. H. Keller, our duly elected delegates to the National convention of the Socialist Party of America, to be held at Chicago, Illinois, May 1st, 1904, to submit to said convention a proposition to have a party paper or papers, as before mentioned, or if the same or a similar proposition is submitted by any other delegate to said convention we hereby instruct our delegates to said convention to vote for and support a motion declaring for a party-owned paper or papers."

Practically the some resolution was also received from Local Louisville, Ky., Yonkers, N. Y., Spokane, Wash., and the Woman's Branch of the Socialist party, Seattle, Wash. In spite of this your committee reports unfavorably upon this resolution.

The following suggestions are submitted:

We recommend that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist party should be under the control of party members or the party organization.

We report further on another point which was suggested by the National Secretary: Recognizing the necessity of informing the party membership thoroughly of party affairs, we recommend in accordance with the suggestion of the National Secretary, a monthly bulletin confined exclusively to official matters, excluding all questions of political tactics and editorial opinions. We believe this bulletin should have a nominal price of 25 cents a year. If, however, the convention should decide that this bulletin should be supplied gratuitously, we recommend that such gratuitous circulation be confined to party secretaries.

Your committee further recommends for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau or electing a secretary of local quorum as the constitution provides, of course, under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party, for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics. Our reasons for this recommendation are that there are at present a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but are unable, because of lack of editorial or financial ability, or any plan, to secure the same. In many places Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulty. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways; either the matter can be purchased by the local comrades for existing papers, or when it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control it will reduce the expense of publication.

DELEGATE SIMONS continued; Now I might just as well say a word in explanation, although it is not in order here, and, therefore, I shall not take up time in discussing it. Such a proposition as this is something that is certainly going to come before us before long, and we feel that control which could be exercised in this way is the least undesirable of any possible control which should be exercised over the party press, because it contains no mandatory powers; it simply will dominate because we furnish better stuff. It will occupy only a small portion of any party paper and will leave this matter to every paper either to be used or not, as at present, and will help to get diversified ideas.

Delegate D. M. Smith (Ill.) moved that the convention concur in the suggestion of the committee in its report on the first resolution in reference to a party paper. Seconded.

Delegate Toole (Md.) moved to substitute the recommendation of Local San Francisco. Seconded.

DEL. SIMONS: I want to say, so that the comrades may understand what they are doing, that really one has no connection with the other. The motion which was recommended for adoption was not the one to establish a bureau. The one to adopt was that we recommend that any paper which assumes to speak for the Socialist Party should be under the control of the party members or party organization.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is not the one I referred to.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that you withdraw the motion and take these up seriatim.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is what I move.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the second consent to the withdrawal?

A DELEGATE: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, then.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I make a point of order. Before we can consider the resolution or recommendation of the Press Committee the substitute should be voted on.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a substitute to be voted on first, and that is the only thing in order. That is that we adopt the resolution of Local San Francisco. That is the effect of the substitute. That is open for discussion.

As to an Official Party Organ

Chairman Simons re-read the San Francisco resolution.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that this be not adopted.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I hope, Mr. Chairman, that before the delegates to this convention adopt the resolution from San Francisco they will consider these facts: If we have a party paper owned by the party, the only need of a faction of the party will be to capture that paper. (Applause.) And if it were possible for the old parties to get men into our party by any means or various means, who could after a while get control of that paper they would wreck our party as the Populist party was wrecked at St. Louis. (Applause.) I have been out of the Republican party for twenty years. I have seen a party-owned paper, and I have seen it drag the party that owned it down into the wreck from the simple fact that the Republican politicians came into our organization, and, fight as we might, we could not keep their influence out of it. They were fighting eternally until they got control of that party-owned press, and finally it went down and our party went down, and that was the finish of the party-owned press. I believe the safety of the Socialist Party today is in standing by the press as we now have it (applause), because if one paper gets out of line it cannot affect the Socialist Party, but if the party-owned press gets out of line that we all trust, we are all gone, and then we will become discouraged like these Populists that have gone to pieces, and the end of Socialism will be here. (Cries, "No, no.") I am in earnest on this point, and you may have to overlook the mistakes I may make sometimes. I am a newspaper publisher; I want to admit that I might, however, be selected to publish the national paper; I don't know.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Not after that.

DEL. ROSE: Not after that, no. But I am in favor of our press as it is at present established. When the Socialist Party comes into power it will own the press, and all other things as well. At the present time we have to labor under a capitalist system, and laboring under a capitalist system, we have to make haste slowly. We cannot control the party-owned paper very much better than we can control those little journals that have been established over the country, and you know how well they have succeeded. That is all I want to say.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to explain first why I made the motion to substitute the report. I would like to call your attention to a circumstance that one of the comrades from Illinois tried to bring up here this afternoon after the report of Secretary Mailly. He was asking about Breckon's letter to the national secretary, and there was one thing in that letter that struck me. I don't care anything about Breckon's trouble with the editor of the *Appeal to Reason,* but there was one thing that he said that I must take notice of, and that is this: That the editor of the *Appeal to Reason* has built up a mighty party machine with which he is moulding the minds of the people of this country who are socialistically inclined, and I want to know whether we prefer to trust Wayland or some other newspaper publisher in preference to trusting a committee that we elect ourselves. (Applause.) Can we refuse to trust the National Committee that we are about to elect, and then trust Wayland, who may die tomorrow, and then his son who is anti-Socialistic, may take that paper, which today is the foremost socialist paper in the country? That is a question, Mr. Chairman, that I want discussed. I want to know whether these individual owners of these papers can be controlled. How can they control a man who it is said has threatened to dismantle, to break down the Socialist movement if it interferes with his manner of publishing a Socialist paper. Socialist papers are private property, and you cannot touch them. They can do what they please with them. I believe in the Socialist policy of public ownership—aye, even public ownership of the newspapers, at least one newspaper which shall dictate the policy of the party. (Applause.) Under the system of privately owned Socialist papers every sort of idea has been preached as Socialism. Any old thing is Socialism. What is Socialism? We must have one paper at least that represents the sentiments of the National Socialist Party. If there is opposition to it, I know there are troubles that it will meet, but we will meet troubles in anything, but more in the privately owned papers than in a paper belonging to the national party. But there has been trouble all along about so-called Socialist papers; papers

that have called everything Socialism, from the municipal ownership of street cars and the municipal ownership of railroads to any old thing. I have read accounts in the papers that said they were Socialist which even told us how we are going to live twenty or fifty years from now. They laid down rules for your grandchildren to live by, and called it Socialism. These questions must be considered. This really is the issue: Whether we can trust a millionaire owner of a party newspaper in preference to the National Committee elected by the membership of the party.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I believe that if the remarks the gentleman has just made were true, we newspaper men would swell up till we would burst. The public press is valuable only so far as it is true to Socialist principles. In the State of Montana we have won our strength against a multi-millionaire press. We have elected one ticket in Anaconda County that represents the Socialist Party, and in order to give you a few more points on results from the Press Committee I suggest that Comrade Simons read two other resolutions there which show the inconsistencies of the resolutions that have been submitted.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): On the press question those of us who have been members of the Socialist party know the experience in the past. I want to find as soon as possible whether it is the sense of this convention that we have a party-owned paper. I, therefore, move the previous question.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I believe in common ownership, and I believe in the common ownership of the tools by which a paper can be published, just as well as I do in the common ownership of the machines whereby clothes can be made. (Applause.) Now it is not necessary that a party-owned paper be an editorial paper at all, in any sense that the writers on it have any authority to speak for the party. Let the papers simply be publicly owned by the party, and let it be a publisher only, and let the different comrades of the party write their opinions and sign them, and then we will have Comrade Simons' opinion in one column, Comrade Titus' in another, Comrade Hayes' in another, and so on. Now the only thing that will be official in that paper will be the actions of your different conventions. Those things which the convention says are Socialistic, those things will be authoritative in that paper, just the same as they are authoritative in a privately-owned paper. But the advantage of having a common owned paper managed in that way is the very fact that you will have capital enough to get a paper immediately with a circulation all over the United States, big enough to furnish a daily at once. I would be in favor of making the dues large enough on the membership in the organization to take that paper, so that when a man belonged to your branch the paper would be sent to him as a part of his belongings to the party. There is no manner of means by which a paper published in that way and the men who are chosen to publish that paper could dictate to the party membership. Each individual could write his opinions in that paper on any questions that are discussed. Some day, if Socialism ever comes in, we have got to have common owned papers. The public has got to own these things, because that is one of the very arguments that the capitalist class brings against Socialism, that when Socialism comes the fellows who publish your papers will dictate everything and decide just what is to be done, and consequently, you will have no progress until you will kick some clique out, and it will be a case of one clique after another. Now, I maintain that it is just as easy to use the machinery owned in common, and published by the party and get the different opinions—just as easy as to have a little sheet here and a little sheet there and compel your membership to take six or eight or ten different sheets, with the editors of all of these different sheets on the ragged edge all the time as to whether they are going to have next week's meals or not, and the common jealousy of these editors as to whether the other fellow is growing any faster than he is. Of course, these gentlemen who are opposing this question are editors of papers. They admit it, and, of course, the man who has got some line of business is always opposed to having his business taken over. "Let the other fellows be taken first." (Laughter.) If we can demonstrate that the paper can be carried on without that paper being controlled by cliques, then we have solved the first and primary question of the Socialist ideal.

DEL. SIMONS: I am surprised at what has been said upon the floor of this convention, and I want just a few words to show you the ridiculousness of any such proposition. Where is this paper going to be located, to begin with? The comrade thinks this will settle the question of funds, and I know the great responsibility that will fall upon some of the members in the New York delegation when they realize how they are going to raise the money there. I have another proposition here, the proposition of management, that shows the fact that it won't work, and that ought to settle this question there. He says they may elect a member from every state in the Union as a managing board, and this managing board shall direct the editors. In the first place, the thing is so ridiculous that it seems almost impossible that any sane mind should ever have suggested it. A newspaper today, to be in any sense a metropolitan paper, requires not merely five or ten dollars or a thousand or ten thousand; it requires hundreds of thousands of dollars behind it. (Applause.) It requires, in addition, that it should be run in a competitive world, and yet we have comrades rising here and offering, as an argument for doing something in a capitalist state today, that we believe in public ownership of things, and, therefore, that we can introduce the co-operative commonwealth by means of party papers. I hope the convention will have the good sense not to discuss this question at any great length longer. It seems to me that we can spend our time better at something else. You cannot find good men that will do the work for what you will pay them on a party paper. He tells you that we are afraid you will take our jobs away from us. Have you ever been a Socialist editor? I can assure you that there is not a Socialist editor in this country who, if it were a mere question of his personal welfare, would not step out of the Socialist Party and into a capitalist party. (Applause.) Under these conditions I hope you will concur in the report of the committee.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): There was an old Quaker once who had a son. He told his son: "When you go out into the world you will find a great many men that are rascals, and they will beat you. When they beat you once they are knaves. If they beat you twice you are a fool." We have had experience with a party organ already, and I should think we should know what that was. (Applause.) If it had not been for a party organ in New York City we would have been a united party in the United States, with twice and thrice the membership we have got today. I believe we can control the party press a great deal better as it is now, because just in proportion— The gentleman, I see, wants to say something and I will give way in about a minute, but I have got the floor now and I am going to keep it, for I want it. I want to say right here that Minnesota has kept still here and has not taken up much time, and we don't expect to, but we have got ten minutes now. You can question all you have a mind to but I am a Socialist and I am going to have my rights here. You can try to kick me all you have a mind to, but if you try to shut me off too much I will make somebody trouble. We have had experience in New York with this. We were growing faster than we are today. It was decided that the party must control the press. The party got control of it, and a few delegates got on the executive board. They worked their chances, and they started in on that party organ and wrecked the Socialist movement, or rather split it in two. We struck a rock, but we have got off, and now the ship is sailing along prosperously, and we are not going to let the men beat us a second time. (Applause.) The gentleman over there spoke to us about the editors of the *Appeal to Reason.* When the *Appeal to Reason* ceases to appeal to the common sense of the Socialist party, it will not be an appeal to reason, but it will be wrecked on the rock of perdition. (Applause.) No single paper in the hands of any individual or party of individuals can wreck us because the class-conscious Socialists reading this paper can see its tendencies, and it can no longer control them, and when it can no longer control the Socialists it is worthless to the capitalists. We are not afraid of this. Let our papers be just as they are now. Let each one criticize the action of the other, and let them be in a shape so that every class-conscious Socialist can act as he pleases, and that paper will have principles as clear as crystal. Something has been said here about the dangers of a party-owned press.

When Socialism comes no press can hurt us, because we will have only one press representing a united mankind. The danger is today, and as long as there are enemies around us let the people print the papers, and we as Socialists can decide on their merits. (Applause.)

Delegate McKee (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I was on the floor when the previous question was moved, and I think I have got a right to speak on that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade McKee was recognized and moved the previous question before the comrade spoke.

DEL. DALTON: There has been nobody got a chance to talk on that side.

A DELEGATE: The previous question has been moved.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not heard a second.

A delegate seconded the motion.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): It was not the intention that if we had a party-owned paper it would talk party tactics or dictate to the party. It was the intention to furnish to the people of this country Socialist literature and Socialist articles, but after the suggestion of Comrade Simons that there would be a bureau established to sell to the party press of the country such written articles by the foremost writers on Socialism, I withdraw that resolution presented from Local San Francisco. It was only presented here to this body to get at the opinions of the comrades that sent it here, to see what we could do or what would be the best to do. Local San Francisco offered that measure in the hope that there would be a party press established, and directed us to support such a suggestion from other locals. It was only to bring up a discussion of this matter, because we have a large minority that believes in a party-owned press. We have told them, from what we have heard on this floor, that it would be impossible to own a party press. I told them it would be just as dangerous to have a commonly owned party press as a privately owned press. But I am still in favor of having something done so that we can furnish to the small backwoods towns such articles on Socialism. If you could see the papers out in the West that are claiming to be Socialist papers, but are the laughing stock of real Socialists, I think you comrades would all see that we need something of the sort that Comrade Simons proposes. Therefore, I will withdraw this resolution as a representative of Local San Francisco, but I will support and vote for the suggestion of Comrade Simons. (Applause.)

DEL. LUND (Wash.): This resolution originated in Local Spokane, where I am from, and I was directed when I left home that when the resolutions came up here I should work for it and do what I could. I know that there are a good many little newspapers in my region and a good many little editors (laughter), and if we had a party-owned paper, there might be some of the little editors that would have nothing to do any more. Probably there are yet some capitalistic ideas in them that they don't like to come out with, but they are coming out with them now and here and showing it plainly. I don't like to see the action of those editors, because they know as well as I that if we had a party-owned paper that was controlled by some kind of a board of Socialists—not milk and water Socialists, we have too many today that control the papers, but straight Socialists—we would have papers with a ring that you could hear it when you would see it, and see it when you hear it. Those are the ones that we should have on the papers, and we could get something to read that would teach the rank and file how to move the Socialist movement. I for one am satisfied that these are the views of the people that I am with or where I come from, the Socialists of Spokane, Washington. We have it back there, and for the last year we have looked at those papers till we got tired of looking at them, because mostly there is nothing but one fighting another because each one is afraid the other paper gets more subscriptions than he does. And when it comes to the financial proposition, where is the editor that can run his paper without the rank and file? Not one in America. And, therefore, if we had a party-owned paper that would be straight and to the point there would not be so many young Socialists going astray as we find there have been so far, because they get a paper and say, "There is fighting every day and every week, and when I see the

paper there is nothing but a fight." If we had a party-owned paper this fighting would certainly all be done away with and there would be something to read there that would be worth reading. I, of course, cannot outline like those attorneys and newspaper editors can in this regard, so, of course, you must excuse me and take for what it is worth what I am saying, but I shall do all I can and ask this convention to consider very thoroughly whether it would not be better to have a party-owned paper than to have a thousand or two thousand of those little ones that live today and we don't know whether they will die tomorrow. I am satisfied that even if a board was elected or appointed in some shape to run these that they could make capitalist papers out of these papers on the business side and give the reading to the Socialists. You would get a daily paper big enough or as big as some of those dailies, and you would have advertising enough if the paper was big enough, almost to pay for half of it. But there is no Socialist in the rank and file of the United States that would not put up a dollar any time to have a first-class daily paper started and distributed throughout the country.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): Oregon has had but very little to say up to the present time, and I would like to speak for a moment or two on this question. I have found in my work as a lecturer in the Socialist field that one of the great lacks of the movement is a party paper, that can be pointed to as an authority on scientific Socialistic teaching. One of the main things that has been thrown in my face repeatedly by those capitalists that I have held debates with, is this: "You don't agree within yourselves. Even your papers are continually differing with one another. Your papers are not united in teaching Socialism. Your speakers differ in teaching Socialism. Whom are we to believe?" (Applause.) I recognize, as Comrade Simons says, that it is something of an undertaking to start a Socialist paper, or any other kind of a paper. Although I am not a newspaper woman and do not understand that as well as they do, I can comprehend that it would be something of a task. Now I have this to offer, as a suggestion to the convention: Now you will probably laugh, for you will say, "Which one can we select?" But, wouldn't it be well to pick out some one of these papers, for instance, the *International Review,* and have that as our standard paper? (Laughter and applause.) A comrade has handed me one already to recommend, but I am not here to recommend any paper, but am merely giving a suggestion as to the need of one. At the recent state convention held in Oregon in March, this question was brought up and was discussed at length, and the comrades there from different parts of the state recognized the lack of a national paper that would express the true ideals of Socialism. They have one little sheet in Oregon, a very distorted affair, and that sheet is doing more to teach the wrong kind of Socialism than half the speakers can do to unteach it. (Applause.) I tell you, comrades, one of the hardest things to do in this world is to grow a thing wrong after it has been taught to grow right. Now, don't forget that fact, and if today we had one paper in the United States that we could point to as the Socialist organ, that could be depended upon for its straight Socialism, the other papers would have to live up to its philosophy or else get out of the field. (Applause.) Therefore, I stand for the establishment of a Socialist paper owned and controlled, if possible, by the party; if not possible, then I stand for the choosing of one of the papers that are already in the field and making it the national paper. (Applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Would you call the editor of that paper the party pope or party oracle?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: The pope.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: I consider the question as too nonsensical to answer. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrades, I do not know that the truth appeals to the human mind any more strongly because it has the stamp of authority upon it. I do not know that error is less erroneous because at the time that that error was inculcated the stamp of authority was placed upon it. ("Hear, hear.") I do not know the means by which we should be absolutely certain that a party-owned paper should always square up to the very highest standard of merit. The privately-owned papers

today, if they exercise any influence whatever upon the public mind, it is because of merit. We shall not make a question easier of decision because we place upon it the stamp of merit or the stamp of authority. It seems to me that that fact is clear enough. In some way when a man gets the Socialist idea into his head he has a sort of magic touchstone by which he can determine the difference between truth and error, and it is only necessary for him to apply that in order to determine whether a paper can or cannot be relied upon. The capital of the privately-owned papers of this country today has never appealed to the reason of the Socialist people of this country, and that alone gives them their power. The consciousness of every Socialist in this country is awakened, and they bring the writings of every writer up to their ideals of Socialism and see whether or not they live up to the standard of merit. Shall we substitute for that alert faculty which has guided the Socialist party through so many battles in the past—shall we substitute for that an executive board of the Socialist party of this country? I am not ready to so substitute it. I believe the popular approval, wrong as it often is, is the safest guide, and it is only because I believe in the popular intelligence, in their anxiety to do right, that I have the supremest confidence when the intelligence of the people shall finally be roused up to the philosophy of Socialism. It is because of that I realize it is inevitable. It may be unfortunate that in various sections of the country the little local press is inefficient, but I want to tell you that when the history of the Socialist movement is finally written there will be a great big place in it for the men of the local press, who, through starvation and hardship, have upheld the banner and done the work of enlightening the people. (Applause.) And I want to say further that the men who impugn the motives of the Socialist editors upon this floor, whose experience leads them to oppose the idea of a party owned and directed paper, have not fully lived up to the principles of comradeship which our party teaches. (Applause.) We ought to be fairer and more just and generous than that. And I just want to say to the people here who don't know me, that I am not an editor, I am not speaking for any paper from this platform. It is simply my position as a Socialist and my observation of the way things go in this world of ours. If we could have people made over again and always right up to the highest standard of truth and right, we might be able to throw all of our funds into a common treasury and turn the management of the paper over to some one and let it go at that, and be certain that everything was all right. (Here the gavel fell.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that though the mover of this had offered to withdraw it, the second has not said a word.

DEL. TOOLE: I am the mover of that motion. I offer to withdraw it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I mean the member that introduced it.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I withdraw it.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Illinois in this convention has been trying to get recognition for an hour and a half.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is all right; you will.

DEL. HOEHN: I rise to move the previous question. Motion seconded.

DEL. SPARGO: I claim three minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been called for. Shall the main question be now put?

Motion put and carried.

DEL. SPARGO: I claim three minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will give the mover of the motion three minutes, and then Delegate Spargo may have the next.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I claim three minutes as the mover of the original motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is only the mover——

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. I am the mover of the substitute, and that is what we are discussing. He has been asleep since the morning session.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the Secretary to inform us who introduced the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: The Secretary is unable to tell who the biggest part of the people here in the convention are, because they have covered their signs

up with other things. Furthermore, when they get up to speak they forget to announce who they are, thinking that we all know them. We know one or two, but not all the 185 here. Consequently the Secretary has been unable to find out who has been introducing these resolutions tonight.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: I moved the question and Comrade Toole moved the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then he is the next.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): In conclusion I will say that I think we are running away from a great big bugaboo and that we are afraid of ourselves. When the last comrade was speaking—the comrade from Colorado, I think—I thought I saw over there Bishop Matz making an argument against Socialism, that if people could be moulded over again it would be all right; that we could have Socialism if people could be moulded all over again. So we could have this newspaper if we were all moulded over again and all good. But we cannot. I tell you there is back of it all the same capitalistic spirit; we cannot get away from it; it is the competitive spirit that is in them. I am not blaming those comrades. I am not throwing out any insinuations; but I want to say this, that we are simply saying that we must be afraid of ourselves. I say this: We do not want to have anything to do with a privately owned newspaper. We want to have a common newspaper. It would give solidity to the movement. It would teach the principles that are adopted by this convention. We object to the competition in the market of the privately-owned papers. Another thing, from the standpoint of capital, the party could get all of the capital to run the newspaper the same as these privately-owned newspapers. They talk about the millionaire newspapers as though there were none. I know that what has been said is true, that there is a paper that is rapidly becoming a great paper; I mean the *Appeal to Reason*. Times have changed since two years ago when we had trouble with the *Social Democratic Herald*. Times have changed, and the movement has changed. Right here we see a paper with a circulation rapidly increasing on every hand. People take it and have it upon their tables and believe in it almost as Christian people believe in their Bible. I say this with all due respect to the man that is editing it, but I say that that man has an awful power. He controls the Socialist movement of this country and in this convention. That is what I say.

DELEGATES: Oh, no.

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I say it.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I am very sorry that I did not succeed in getting the floor before the main question was submitted to the house, but in the minute or two that remains to me I want to enter a protest against the spirit which dominated the speech of almost every speaker in favor of the establishment of a national party-owned paper. I fling back to those comrades as unworthy of reply the charge that we who are called upon to edit Socialist papers are looking after our jobs and not the interests of the party.

A delegate rose to a point of order.

DEL. SPARGO: I refuse to be hounded down by delegates to whom I listened while I myself was filled with indignation and scorn. There is no question of personal privilege while I have got these three minutes. If the delegate wants to rise to a point of order he may, but not to a question of personal privilege in order that he may interrupt me.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

DELEGATES: Sit down!

DEL. SPARGO: It has been said that the Socialist editors are opposed to a party paper because they have some vested interest which is threatened. I reply in the name of the Socialist editors—I reply not as a Socialist editor; I reply in the name of decency of this convention that that is unworthy of reply. (Applause.) If somebody moved in this convention that hereafter every woman in the party should have her hair cut short, and the barbers opposed it, is it to be said that the barbers are in line against the proposition because they happen to have a five or ten cent interest jeopardized? Comrades, this convention demands higher motives than the impeachment of other comrades' motives. I am opposed to a national party-owned organ because I am opposed to the heresy hunter all the time. (Applause.) I am opposed to a national

party-owned organ because I will not trust the party integrity, I will not trust the party interests, I will not trust the party faith to the judgment of any one man, no matter how great he may be. (Applause.) If Editor Wayland, of the *Appeal to Reason,* makes a mistake, the Socialist Party stands firm, but if somebody who is declared to be for the time being the infallible literary pope of the movement makes a mistake, that mistake carries with it the Socialist Party. (Applause.) Comrades, there can be no orthodox Socialism while there is property in a nationally owned party organ.

DEL. WEBSTER: A question of personal privilege. It is that the question raised by comrades here who used an argument made by myself that these men were personally interested, was a question of personal insult. I maintain that there is no question of insult in regard to these gentlemen, but the very plain Socialist argument that a man who has a certain line of business cannot see his own relation to it and is warped by his personal interest. (Cries of "No.")

Several delegates called for recognition.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): There is no question of personal privilege on this question. The time has come to vote.

DEL. WEBSTER: It is a question of personal privilege.

DEL. TOOLE: I have no interest in any editors, and I desire it to be known that I have not.

A DELEGATE: A point of order. It is half past nine, the hour for adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you say?

A delegate moved to suspend the rules in regard to adjournment. Seconded and carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades, it appears to me that this is a matter over which there is no need of getting excited. In the first place, we are not going to have any nationally-owned organ.

A DELEGATE: How do you know?

DEL. DALTON: I will tell you why. The Socialist movement, like a child, has had some experience in the course of its growth. Its face is not turned backward. It has learned, not because we stand for public ownership that necessarily we can smuggle in the co-operative commonwealth behind the backs of the present society; we have learned that we cannot do that. Moreover, in the special subject under discussion we have learned that it is a danger to the growth of the Socialist movement to introduce interests of private property into an organization that stands for the overthrow of private property. (Applause.) Some one has said there is danger on account of the private ownership of the press. There is; there is danger; but there is more danger on the other side. The Socialist movement will have to face danger day after day. The question to decide is whether we shall become bourgeois or remain Socialists. You cannot own property without having your interests center around it. You cannot have a system and at the same time carry on the work of overthrowing it. In a country like the United States you cannot carry on the work of revolution with an organization that itself is a property owner. That lies at the bottom of it, not a question of the private property interests of the editors, who, today, if they get their little twelve or thirteen dollars a week, think they are remarkably lucky. They are afraid they would lose their jobs, somebody said, if there is a nationally-owned organ. Most of them would be glad to trade their jobs off to the gentlemen who are kicking about them right now. (Applause.) We have today— (Here the gavel fell.)

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I happen to be one of those editors, and I believe I have made as many sacrifices for the interest and promotion of the principles of Socialism as any man who has been in attendance daily in this convention, and I want to say to you that while we make mistakes and while we know we have made mistakes, yet as great mistakes as I have ever seen emanated from men sent out from the headquarters as Socialist organizers. I want to say that in the state organizations I have seen as bad mistakes, as miserable ones, as any little newspaper man ever made. Now, it is useless for us to contend about these things. The little fellow has his place in the machine that we are running now. He must have it until you change this miserable system, because of the fact that he is one of the cogs, and the machine won't run without him; you can't dispense with

him. I want to say to the gentlemen who are favorable to a national or party owned press that I have no objection whatever to the establishment of one if the party in its eminent wisdom deemed fit to establish one. But I want to say to you that when you have done it, until the present system is abolished, you will always regret it. I see in the constitution as you have already had it here, that you have taken from the people the right to elect the secretary and placed it in the hands of the National Committee, and who have opposed that except the little fellows that you have got around the country running the Socialist press today? I want to ask you, if that was conducted in that way, who would tell the common people, who have not the time to look into these matters, the fact that you have introduced into that a proposition to elect the secretary of this great party by committeemen who are selected from the different states? No, that is in your constitution as it is written now, and I want to tell you that every little fellow in all this country who runs a newspaper will get up and fight it. We want to keep this thing distributed among the people and down to the people, and we don't intend you fellows to get away with it. I have seen in this very convention a caucus somewhat as I have seen the old party conventions, and I have seen different committees marked out on paper for you fellows to vote for, and you did it, and every man marked on that paper was elected on the committee. There is not one of them but what I would have voted for, possibly, under any other circumstances.

DEL. MAHONEY (Conn.): I rise to take exception to the comrade's remarks over here that Socialists are against the ownership of private property.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is, shall the San Francisco resolution be adopted?

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): That is not the San Francisco, but another.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is about the San Francisco resolution. The resolution is presented by the committee and denominated the resolution from San Francisco. That is the question before you. Shall that be adopted?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I move to lay it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those in favor of the adoption of that resolution will stand.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Is this simply in reference to establishing a public press, or does it involve more? I suggest that the Secretary read what is before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the substitute motion to put this in place of the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): The motion was not to adopt the whole thing, all the recommendations of the committee. The resolution is simply for a party newspaper. That was the motion.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): With your permission I will state the substance: That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a national Socialist paper either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I rise to a question of order.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): If you adopt this it is simply a suggestion, is it not?

A DELEGATE: No.

DELEGATE IRENE SMITH: This would simply be a suggestion that we have a party paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would at least be an indorsement of that idea.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: A suggestion only, not that we are bound to have a paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DELEGATES: Vote!

THE CHAIRMAN: Those favoring the adoption of the resolution will stand.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A point of order. The Chairman has ruled that this resolution is merely a suggestion. I understand this resolution to be mandatory upon the party; if we adopt it then the national committee will have to establish that paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the

secretary to read that resolution and I will refuse to interpret it.

DEL. SIMONS: Instructions to delegates from Local San Francisco to the Socialist Party National Convention to be held in Chicago May 1, 1904:

"Resolved, That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a National Socialist paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party."

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information. The committee moves that that be modified, or it has been moved that the report of the committee be concurred in. Isn't the substitute before us to be voted on first? I want to know where we are at.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the substitute here.

DEL. CARR: Then that is the only question. If we vote to endorse the recommendation of the committee it kills the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only question now is, shall this resolution be adopted? Those favoring it will stand.

DEL. TOOLE: There appears to be some misunderstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those opposed stand. The motion is lost. The question now is upon the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I make an amendment——

THE CHAIRMAN: No; you cannot make an amendment now.

DEL. SIMONS: Does the convention want the resolution that applies to this particular point read?

THE CHAIRMAN: Read it over.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist party shall be under the control of the party members or party organization.

A delegate moved the adoption of the recommendation. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to ask whether that would include private papers which are defending Socialist principles?

DEL. SIMONS: Certainly not. What interpretation is to be placed on papers which presume to speak for the Socialist party? They must be under the control of the party organization or membership.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: You understand this is not mandatory. We are not amending the constitution; we are simply making a recommendation; it is only something that we look upon with favor.

A DELEGATE: A question of information. As I understand it, there are a number of papers like the Seattle *Socialist* or the New York *Worker* which are owned by labor organizations and are published for the purpose of improving the members by the diffusion of pure and simple rot. I want to ask whether Comrade Simons and his committee would use the literary productions of the editors of such papers, or whether he desires to follow the example of the Socialists in St. Louis some years ago.

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. He is not discussing the question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to make a motion that the convention do not concur in the recommendations. (Seconded.) I wish to speak to that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the house.

DEL. MILLS: It is the recommendation of the committee that is before the house, is it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: No. It has been moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. MILLS: Then I move to amend by making it read that it be not concurred in. Now, Mr. Chairman——

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. There is no second to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: Yes; it is seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: You can speak to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: I speak to the motion as it stands. I understood that there was no motion. I will withdraw my motion and speak then to the motion as it stands. Now, comrades, the question we have is this, in my judgment, is

only another form of the same question which we have just had. (Applause.) I do not care to be placed in a position where in attempting to take the advice of this committee I shall be making inquiry as to the personal politics of the stockholders in the publishing company which owns the magazine that Comrade Simons edits.

DEL. SIMONS: You are welcome to it.

DEL. MILLS: I do not wish to do it. It does not seem to me that this is a matter of importance. The editorship of the paper we have disposed of is based upon the party ownership. Now the same comrades who are opposed to the party ownership of the paper in order that through that ownership the editorship may be controlled by the party, propose a recommendation that papers shall be discredited on the ground that somebody owns at least some share in them—some persons who are not themselves members of the Socialist party.

A DELEGATE: That is not the argument.

DEL. MILLS: If not, why then the recommendation? If there is no idea back of this recommendation, then there is no reason for this recommendation. (Applause.) I do not believe it is necessary. I cannot see any interest that can be served. I can only see a club put into the hands of some one who wishes to further a private quarrel. I do not believe that that is the wish of this convention. I therefore, shall vote against it on that ground. It can serve no good purpose; it simply furnishes clubs—for what purpose?

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I want to ask Comrade Simons to read that again.

DEL. SIMONS: "We recommend that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist Party shall be under the control of the party members or party organization." I will say that it was far from our idea to interfere in any way with any of the private papers.

DEL. DALTON: What in the name of common sense does this recommendation mean? If a paper like the *American Labor Union Journal* comes out and says "Socialism is so and so, we believe in this and that," what are you going to do to them? Throw them into jail if they assume to speak for the Socialist Party? What are you going to do; put them on the carpet? What has this convention got to do with them? We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party press. We might as well come down here and discipline John R. Walsh of the Chicago *Chronicle*. He does not assume to speak for the party; he speaks for capital. It seems to me this recommendation is nonsense. I move you that it be laid on the table. Seconded.

The motion to lay on the table was put and carried.

On motion the convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning, May 4, 1904.

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION—MORNING

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and on motion a recess was taken until 9:20, owing to the small attendance.

At 9:20 the convention reassembled, and the following nominations were made for Chairman for the day:

Sieverman (N. Y.), by Hillquit, (N. Y.).
Mills (Kan.), by Webster (Ohio).
Morgan (Ill.), by Dilno (Mo.).
Smith (Ore.), by Hayes (Okla.).
Barnes (Pa.), by Wilkins (Cal.).
Heath (Wis.), by Klein (Minn.).
Delegates Barnes and Heath declined.

The result of the vote was announced as follows: Sieverman, 38; Mills, 20; Morgan, 9; Smith, 5. Delegate Sieverman was declared elected.

Delegate Brandt (Mo.) nominated Delegate Morgan (Ill.) for Vice-Chairman. Delegate Mills (Kan.) was also nominated, but declined, and on motion of Delegate Mills the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for Delegate Morgan as Vice-Chairman.

Delegate Sieverman then assumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first thing in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Toole of Maryland rose to his feet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you belong to the Committee on Credentials?

DEL. TOOLE: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. TOOLE: To a question of personal privilege. Perhaps it is a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate from Maryland that the Chair is not a bureau of information at all, and there is nothing in order at this time except the report of the Committee on Credentials.

DEL. TOOLE: I know; but this is very important. I would like to know what position the *Appeal to Reason* occupies—whether it is an official exponent of this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order in making the inquiry at this time. Is the Committee on Credentials ready to report?

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready to vote in regard to the appeal?

DEL. TOOLE: I would like to state why I appeal. It is simply this: I asked a question of information, and the precedent set in this convention has been that all such motions have been considered. I see no reason why it should not be now. That is all. It is a very important matter to bring before this convention.

CHAIRMAN SIEVERMAN: I desire to say that the Chair does not recognize a point of information in an inquiry of that sort. Delegates will have to depend for their information upon the regular proceedings of this convention, and the Chair is not qualified to give any information other than that which naturally comes up in the proceedings of this convention, which every member of this convention is aware of.

The question was then put on the appeal, and the Chair was sustained.

The Chairman resumed the chair.

Several committees were called for, but were not ready to report. The Committee on Municipal Program was called for.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): Whenever it is in order I would like to read a memorial from Colorado that should be read under the head of that committee.

DEL. STROBELL (N. J.): I move that we take up the report of the Committee on Press.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be unfinished business.

DEL. STROBELL: Was not the Press Committee the first business on the program this morning?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir; the Committee on Press and any other business unfinished yesterday comes up under unfinished business to-day. The order of business is the order as I have read it. In that order you have adopted it, and it is in that order that you will do business to-day.

Report of Committee on Constitution

The report of the Committee on Constitution was taken up, and at the suggestion of Delegate Mills (Kan.) the members of the committee present gathered about the table on the platform for the purpose of consultation

DEL. HILLQUIT, of the Committee: I believe the draft of the Constitution as a whole has been read, and what is now before us is the taking up of the report section by section.

Article I was read as follows:

"Article I. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has by law become a legal requirement."

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the reading of the first paragraph of the report of the Committee on Constitution. What is your pleasure?

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I move that this order be followed in the consideration and adoption of the Constitution: That it be read section by section, and if no objection is made, that we proceed with the reading and consider that that section is adopted, and then when we get through the whole of it we adopt it as a whole. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection that motion will be entertained at this time in order to facilitate business. Is there any objection to entertaining that motion at this time?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I thought I moved that yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN: I asked the Secretary if we had passed that and he said no. He ought to be authority.

The motion of Delegate Robinson was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the adoption of Article I?

DEL. TOOLE: Yes.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I move the adoption of the article. Seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: I move to amend it so as to read: "The name of this organization shall be The Socialist Party of America.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that an amendment to the Constitution should be in writing. It will be impossible for the delegates, the Chair or the Secretary to intelligently follow amendments unless they are submitted in writing. Will the delegate kindly write his amendment?

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I do not think it will be possible for the Socialist Party to change that part of the Constitution, for the simple reason that there are several states where the election law now in force prevents the adoption of the name "Socialist Party," and if we would adopt that amendment, that in itself would debar in those states the party from participating in elections. Now in Wisconsin they have to keep the name Social Democratic and in New York the same. They have got about the same rules as the others, and for that reason any change of the section as read here would prevent the party from participating in elections in those states. It would be very unwise to accept such an amendment as that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Toole of Maryland offers an amendment and is now writing it. As I understand it, it is to amend it so as to make it read "Socialist Party of America." How does it read now?

THE SECRETARY: "Socialist Party except in states"——

DEL. TOOLE: I will fix that and add "except in states," and so forth.

Delegate Carr moved the previous question. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Toole again state his amendment, so that delegates can vote intelligently?

A DELEGATE: I withdraw my second.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the delegate withdrawing his second to the amendment?

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the vote comes upon the original article.

The motion to adopt the article was put and carried.

Qualifications for Membership.

Article 2 was then read as follows:

"Article 2. Membership. Every person a resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?

DEL. TOOLE: I object. It will be impossible for us to write out amendments and make progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, if it is impossible or impracticable the Chair will entertain any amendment that you make orally.

DEL. TOOLE: The objection I make is that no man should become a member of this party unless he is a citizen of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say that the Chair will not entertain any discussion upon anything that is not before the house. A motion must be made, and when a motion is made then I will entertain discussions, and not before.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move that the article stand as reported. Seconded.

DEL. OSWALD (N. J.): The word "occupation" is there. It seems to me that with the wording given we could not make a distinction as to a person holding an office under the Democratic or Republican party. I move that this word "occupation" be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The members of the committee desire to be heard, and it is fair to hear them first.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): That difficulty can be easily got around by putting a proviso in there, if need be, to the effect that no one holding an office to which he has been elected or appointed by a capitalist party shall be qualified to be a member of the party. It can be easily covered. The word "occupation" is there and should be there. If anybody wants to make that qualification it can be easily done. If you will just pass this for a little while we will have it arranged.

DEL. MILLS, of the committee: The real question that the committee had before it in regard to this word "occupation" is not on the proposition of the politics of the applicant. The word "occupation" has a distinct meaning. It means the method by which a man earns his livelihood. Now the question has been raised whether a man who is a farmer or merchant or blacksmith or an employer of labor shall be eligible. That is the question that is involved. But if we are to determine that "occupation" means any line of occupation that a man may be engaged in, in which he must earn his living, then that wants to be stricken out. If, however, membership is not to rest upon the line of the trade in which a man is earning his living, then it ought to remain. My judgment is that the Socialist Party ought to continue to do what it has always done so far as I am informed: Refuse to determine the means and method by which a man must earn his living before he shall be admitted to membership in the Socialist Party.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I favor striking out the word "occupation." My reason is, first, that it is wholly unnecessary. No political party or no body sees fit, no organized body finds it necessary, to make such a provision. It seems to me that our position is stronger if we do not call attention to the fact that there are differences between occupations. Personally, I stand for the proposition that the Socialist Party is a working class party, although there are many members in it and will continue to be who are not working men. But I am of the opinion that retaining this word "occupation" will be construed, and properly and naturally construed, as a bait not merely to bring in persons who are not workingmen—which of course is all right—but it is a movement taking us away or having

a tendency to take us away from our position as a working class party. I think it is totally unnecessary. I, therefore, favor the amendment.

DEL. GLANZ (N. J.): I am opposed to that word in that section of the constitution. I hold that if that word remains there the entire police department of any city in the United States could join our party.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I move that we strike out from this report that part referring to personal character. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion now before us is the amendment that the words "and is of unobjectionable moral character" be stricken out.

DEL. GOSS (Ohio): I wish to speak on the amendment. Before I speak I would like to ask a question. I would like to ask the delegates from Nebraska if it is true that a local in that state or a body of people willing to form a local were refused a charter on the ground that the majority of them were not what we call wage-workers?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state that we are not now answering inquiries on anything but procedure. We are debating a party constitution, and the comrade will confine himself to the point.

DEL. GOSS: If the Chair will just bear with me a little while I will show the point I wish to make. It is that if we strike this word "occupation" out it will give any state the privilege of doing that. Whether that has been done or not is not of much importance now, but it might afterward be important, and if we strike this word out from the constitution I believe the states will be perfectly in order in refusing the application of a member or of a body for a charter because of their occupations. Will that not be so ?

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I am not going to discuss the proposition. I think it is generally agreed among the delegates that there should be no distinction of occupation, because after all it remains with the individual. If we can get the working class to join the party and organize the party, upon them depends whether the working class shall control or not. Now, then, I think that the proposition presented is not concerning, as far as I understand, whether one belongs to the middle class or capitalist class or professional class. I think that the question was raised in order to prevent the recurrence of such an incident as the one affecting Comrade Gridley of Indiana. I think the delegates ought to understand that. It is not a question, so far as I am aware, of what class they belong to, but whether we are going to allow men holding office at the hands of the capitalist parties to be members of the Socialist Party; that is the question.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. It is that the words "without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation" are entirely superfluous and tautological.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are entirely out of order. That is no point of order.

DEL. HEYDRICK: The reason I take this opportunity——

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me, Delegate Heydrick, you are not in order. You raised a point of order and are making a speech upon the merits of the question. The delegate from Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. HEYDRICK: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair has been appealed from. Delegate Heydrick has the floor.

DEL. HEYDRICK: My position is that in all parliamentary bodies the Chairman has a right and is in duty bound to make English of such propositions as he may be required to present to his body; that this is so self evidently tautological, that these words are so transparently superfluous that we are wasting the time of this convention in discussing one or the other of them; that this statement is made, that "every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward," may be eligible to membership in the party. The most comprehensive term possible is employed. There is no way to expand that, and that words simply intended perhaps to make it more pronounced, if such a thing is possible, ought not to be permitted to go into the fundamental declaration of the party. It makes us ridiculous in the

eyes of every one who understands English. I make the point of order for the purpose of cutting off this endless debate. I know Comrade Chairman Sieverman would appreciate that. I think he is wrong in ruling the point not well taken, and that he as Chairman ought to rule on a question of this kind not according to the strictest interpretation of parliamentary law, but according to the merits of the case, and I think if he can save the time of the convention by a declaration of that sort he ought to do it.

CHAIRMAN SIEVERMAN: This would prolong the debate all day. It has been a habit of delegates to raise a point of order when they never intend to speak on the merits of the question, and this is one case. You will notice that the delegate from Pennsylvania, under the guise of a point of order and in an appeal from the decision of the Chair, made his argument in toto on this question. (Applause) That is a parliamentary trick, and it will not be permitted here to-day. As to the merits of what the delegate says, the Chairman of this day is not going to assume to sit in judgment on the merits or demerits of any proposition before this convention. The Chairman of this day is going to assume that the collective wisdom of this convention far transcends any humble opinion that he might hold as to the merits or demerits of any proposition before them.

The question was put on the appeal, and the decision of the Chair was sustained.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I moved to strike out that part that relates to personal character. I sincerely hope that that part will be stricken out. I think I may say that I have a fairly decent moral character myself, and I think that that question ought not to enter into our minds in considering a member's relationship with the party. I do not believe there is any danger whatever that the Socialist party will be commonly called a party of immoral persons, but I believe this leaves the door open for the admission of a whole lot of personal prejudices and personal idiosyncrasies. That question has already come up before this convention. It is not a danger of the future; it is already here. I recall one case, and I sincerely hope that that part of the resolution will be stricken out. I believe there is so much that is good in the worst of us and so much that is bad in the best of us that it will not do for any of us to talk about the rest of us. (Applause.)

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I rise to support the amendment offered by Delegate Gibbs of Massachusetts, on practically the same grounds as those which he offers. It seems to me that to embody this within the constitution would establish a dangerous precedent. The question would arise later, "Who is to be the censor of the morals of those who apply for membership?" I know that it has been my experience that there are to-day within the Socialist movement in the State of Massachusetts those who have been cast in such a narrow mold that they would prevent those who are delegates to this convention from being within the organization if they had it within their power, and I believe that this should be entirely eliminated, and that we should not attempt to be the julges of the moral character of those who come into the organization. We as Socialists recognize that character is the result of environment, and if that is the case let the organization be the judge of its own applicants, without this being in the Constitution, and it not being there, under the old axiom that that which is not prohibited is allowed, if a person of clearly objectionable character applied to a local organization for admittance it is within the powers and province of that local organization to reject him if it will. I trust that this amendment may be adopted.

DEL. UFERT (N. J.): I move this as a substitute for the whole: "Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with every other political party, and who subscribes to the principles of the Socialist party, shall be eligible to membership." I offer that as a substitute for the whole.

Seconded by Delegate Toole.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment that has just been made, including the phrase which we find here, and in addition to the amendment just offered by the

comrade from New Jersey, namely, "who subscribes to the platform."

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Ufert offers as a substitute for the whole that every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, and who has subscribed to the principles of the party, is eligible to membership. I want to suggest that we have had before us a motion, an amendment, an amendment to the amendment, and now we have a substitute. That will end any additions or alterations so far as this subject is concerned. We will now proceed to discuss the substitute, and let us be very brief and vote upon the substitute.

DEL. GIBBS: I did not offer the motion as an amendment to the amendment, but as an amendment to the proposition of the committee, as a separate and distinct amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It goes as an amendment to the amendment. There was an amendment amending that paragraph of the committee's report, and you add to that amendment by amending the amendment, and what is before us now is the substitute for all that preceded.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Under this new constitution we are in the same fix as we were with the same article under the old constitution. It does not provide for any man, as we have had occasion to talk about when the Committee on Credentials made their report. There is no provision in it, and as the Chairman just stated, he wanted to cut off any other proposition that is to be made as to that article, and we will be in the same fix under the new constitution as we were under the old. I want to offer this amendment: It is that there shall be included in that article, "and who does not hold any position obtained by an election of a capitalist party or by a city council or any governing body of any capitalist administration, except positions obtained by civil service." If you cut out the civil service rule for men that work just like any other laborers who don't hold a position, that is, an office, but are simply day laborers who can be discharged any day, then you will do away with the objection offered by so many comrades that we would have to include any man that works for the government, city, state or national, as not eligible to membership. But a man that holds an office under any capitalistic administration should be, and must be under the ethics of Socialism, debarred from membership. For that reason we will provide a bar to those petty politicians who would and are now seeking in a good many places in the United States admission into the party, because they know the party is growing and they will have the power under the conditions in the city or State to obtain an office; not because they are Socialists, not by any means, but for the simple reason that they can get a good job. It is for the office and not for the principle. If this party will not provide for such characters as that, then you will have them, and no doubt we have got them now in some places. The attempts are being made all over. For instance, one man, a chief of police, signed an application for a charter, and the charter was refused. In another case, an alderman elected on the Democratic ticket applied as a charter member, and he was refused. Why? Because he could not hold an office under a Democratic administration and still be a member of the Socialist Party. There are a good many men now who hold official positions, elected when they had not accepted fully the principles of Socialism, and they are staying out of the party for the simple reason that they know that there might be a certain influence exerted by them over the conduct or policy of the Socialist Party, and we want to prevent that. I do not think it is any injustice to any man, if he holds any position like that, that he will not be admitted as a member. He can work for Socialism just the same. It does not bar him; he can vote the ticket. The only thing we want to provide for —not against a member that is honest; he can do as much, doubtless, outside as in, and he can contribute to the party funds—but we want to provide a certain measure by which we can keep out undesirable characters holding an official position under the capitalist parties. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will try to explain the position of the committee on the two questions under discussion. As far as occupation is concerned, it was

to emphasize the stand of the party on certain questions which have been discussed in the past. As far as the other proposition is concerned, that of unobjectionable personal character, I believe that Delegate Gibbs misunderstands the import of it. It was not the desire of the committee to prescribe rules by stating that the party may not accept an objectionable character, but it was the desire to leave that exactly as it was. If you leave that out, a State will have no power to provide against objectionable characters. An objectionable character may be one, for instance, taking the lead in the field of trade unionism, for we have discovered that a number of men apparently active are in the pay of the capitalist employers as spies, and the chances will certainly be that they will try to get admission to the party. If you strike out this clause and if you leave that part in that persons of a certain age, without regard to sex, color, creed or occupation, shall be eligible, you could not reject them on that score. That was but one instance. There may be ten or twenty others. If we adopt it as proposed it would be left to each body to say what is objectionable to them, and those comrades who say that we are products of our environment and so on will use the same arguments in the respective states, and the man who has made a false step will not be objectionable to them under this constitution. I desire further to report that your committee has drafted a provision to cover the substitute offered by Delegate Waldhorst, which is as follows: "Provided, that a person holding any office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination, by or through the assistance of any capitalist party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party." That covers the provision and the application for membership, and also a member who has been admitted and has subsequently accepted office.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Comrade Chairman, and Comrades: I rise to object to the phrase in this article which says "is of objectionable personal character." I do not believe that the explanation afforded us by the member of the committee is satisfactory. A man's character differs from a man's relationship to the Socialist movement. I do not think that I am in very great danger just to-day of being cut off by this particular phrase, but one of the most undesirable types of character that we have in America is supposed by conventional society to be those of our fellow-citizens who have been in jail, and we have a number of men that are in this convention to-day and that are the most notable members of this body, who have already been in jail. (Applause.) Character is a question. The point I wish to make is this, that if this point is left in this condition as to membership it does afford to people who wish to supervise the character of other people a handle by which they can club them. I have seen men in state organizations reeling drunk in our meetings and taking the platform under those conditions, and while they may necessarily have to be called down, I would refuse under any circumstances to expel them from the party. (Applause.) Now, I hope that this proposition will be entirely stricken out from this paragraph of the constitution. It is entirely unnecessary. It does not cover the provision that was suggested by Comrade Hillquit, a member of the committee. Some other provision distinct and unequivocal ought to be made to cover the question. I hope this phrase will be entirely stricken out.

DEL. COGSWELL (Kan.): As a woman I would like to say that I am not in favor of the "unobjectionable moral character." If there is any place in the world where we ought to take the immoral character, it is into this advance movement. (Applause.) I am not afraid to stand beside any woman or man trying to do their part in making the world better. I am not afraid, and I do not know that any member ought to be, to go into any building or into any organization with a person that has made mistakes, if he is trying to unmake them. I see in this one clause an opportunity for every gossip or scandal spreader in the party to make trouble for every one seeking admission. (Applause.)

Delegate Floaten (Colo.) moved the previous question.

Seconded and carried.

DEL. ZORN (Ohio): I am particularly opposed to the phrase referring to unobjectionable personal character. What holds good in the trade unions also holds good in our organization. I am a

member of a labor organization, at the head of it, with 31,000 members. We have the same phrase in our constitution, and it puts us to more trouble than anything else we have in the constitution. Now, we have found that some of the best people are barred from the organization through personality and otherwise, and I hope that this phrase will be stricken out of this article.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I rise to a point of order. It is that the Chairman is not following the rule adopted yesterday that there would be just two to speak on the previous question, and that the affirmative should be given to the mover of this motion. The gentleman here did not move the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have we any such rule as that?

DEL. WEBSTER: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, I did not know of any such rule, and until you point it out to me I shall be bound by the regular rule.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I am opposed to the position of the committee. I do not believe there ought to be any restriction as to membership, the same as in the trade unions. I am a trades unionist, and I believe we ought to admit into our organization any man who agrees to the platform and principles of our organization, no matter what his occupation, so long as he understands the principles of the party and the needs of the working class.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the substitute for the whole, and when that is read there will be absolutely nothing in order but a vote on this substitute immediately after the Secretary has read it, inasmuch as the previous question has been ordered.

DEL. YOUNG (Wis.): I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Kindly sit down and let the Secretary read.

THE SECRETARY: Substitute for Article II offered by Ufert as follows: "Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of race, color, sex or creed, who has severed connection with all other political parties, and who subscribes to the principles of the party, shall be eligible to membership."

The motion was put and the substitute adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the committee will proceed with the next paragraph.

DEL. WALDHORST: What has become of the part the committee submitted in addition to that?

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee was out of order in submitting a recommendation of that kind and it was not entertained.

DEL. HILLQUIT, of the Committee: At this time the Committee will propose this addition as Section 2: "Any person holding any office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination, by or through the assistance of any capitalistic party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I approve of the spirit and purpose of the clause, but it appears to me that it is entirely too sweeping. It seems to me that it might, for instance, exclude the school teachers, or it might exclude from the party one who was working in a publicly owned industry, as gas works or water works. I would like to be enlightened on that point. If the language is not so sweeping as to exclude people of this character, I have no objection to offer; otherwise, I have.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will go into conference and will discuss the question you ask, and will give the information, no doubt.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I move to strike out that part submitted by the committee and insert "no person holding a position, honorary or remunerative——"

DEL. YOUNG (Wis.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. A while ago I desired to appeal from the decision of the Chair and the Chairman made me sit down. I want to know if we are to be governed by rules such as were formed by Reed when he was in control of Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that your question of personal privilege?

DEL. YOUNG: I want to offer a reason for this question of personal privilege. I want to appeal from the decision of the Chair when he stated that the mover was not to be given the first three minutes. It was passed yesterday. He decided the other way, and I want to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to state for the information of the delegate and all the delegates that I am no encyclopedia and do not profess to be. I do not profess to have digested all the rules and resolutions and amendments to the resolutions that have been adopted, but when there are delegates who profess to know more about the rules than the Chair they will have to point out the rule; not make general statements, but be specific. Show us the rule and we will be guided by the rule.

DEL. MAILLY: I have a question of personal privilege. I do not appeal from the decision of the Chair. The printing that is being circulated around the hall does not bear the union label, and I want to state that it was the fault of the printer, and not our fault. We gave him explicit instructions that all our printing had to bear the union label. I make this statement to the delegates present so they will know that it has been printed by a union shop, and it is not our fault that the label is not on the printing. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: If the Committee on Constitution has its revision ready we will be glad to hear from it.

Admission of Office Holders

DEL. HILLQUIT: I have it now as coming from the Committee. The only change made was the insertion of the word "political" before "office," so that the proposition will now read, "Any person holding any political office to which he shall have been elected or appointed, except on civil service examination, by or through the assistance of any capitalist party, shall not be entitled to membership in the Socialist Party."

A delegate moved to adopt the section as read. Seconded.

DEL. KOLACHNEY (Okla.): I move as an amendment that the last clause, "through and by the assistance of capitalist parties," be stricken out.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Toole (Md.).

DEL. HILLQUIT: It will read now, "A person holding any political office to which he shall have been elected or appointed except on civil service examination shall not be entitled to membership in the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: Where is our alderman from Milwaukee? What would he say to that?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): It seems to me that that clause is unnecessary and it will lead to trouble in the future. Suppose that a man should be chosen for senator in a state in which the Socialists have practically four-tenths of the votes, and that the Democrats and Republicans between them have the others, and that there was in one of the old parties a real Socialist who was elected as a Republican; well, should we increase from 40 per cent to 51 per cent and elect a Socialist in the United State Senate, then he would have to get out of the Socialist Party.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): A point of information. Read it again. We cannot understand it. We want to know what we are voting on.

Delegate Hillquit re-read the section.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): Comrade Chairman, I would like to ask Comrade Hillquit through you if that is retroactive, and would it expel members already in the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps Comrade Hillquit can give an answer.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Not at all. I do not see what information I can give you which would be authoritative. The committee is here to draft the propositions as desired.

DEL. KEOWN: I ask it as a legal point.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I should not want to answer because it would do no good, as the party would certainly in the future have the right to do as it pleases. All that we are occupied with is the drafting of rules for our future guidance.

DEL. KEOWN: I merely asked him his opinion on that from a legal standpoint. It has nothing to do with the question of referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Hillquit says that his address in New York is 320 Broadway. (Laughter.)

DEL. KEOWN: I still have the

floor. I want to say in regard to that matter that I am opposed to it. It seems to me that the number of men who might be admitted holding office under those conditions would be so small that it would not make practically any difference in the Socialist movement. And again, it seems to me——

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. I protest against the waste of time by the delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no point of order.

DEL. SPARGO: Let me make my point of order. This comrade rose to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are mistaken; he did no such thing. He rose under his right to speak on the subject, and asked a question of Delegate Hillquit, and now bases his argument upon that answer. Go on, Delegate Keown.

DEL. KEOWN: It seems to me we have already stated here, in one of the propositions, that we are in favor of the most unlimited membership possible. It seems to me the Socialist movement would gain considerable in that line by having men who are already holding office under that clause. I do not mean holding office because of political service, but holding appointive offices for merit. I believe the whole thing is impracticable. I do not think it is a wise thing for the Socialist movement to be so dictatorial in those matters. I think the widest possible latitude should be given the membership in this movement. I am not in favor, and no Socialist can be in favor, of any member of this party holding office under a capitalistic government for services to that government, but I am in favor, just as far as possible, of providing that members of this party shall be eligible who are holding appointive offices under capitalistic governments where they have been appointed for merit. As to this case of Comrade Gridley—here is a man absolutely dependent for his livelihood on that very office. He was appointed, without doubt, for merit. What would you do with the comrade? Either we must say that they must give up their membership in the party—which they hold dearer, perhaps, than life itself—or else they must give up their jobs. If they give up their jobs we are taking the bread out the mouths of those comrades. I think we should make the Socialist movement broad, and I do not believe the small number of those men can do the movement any harm. I have heard Socialists again and again, when talking to some one whom they were trying to convert, refer to another man and say, "So-and-So is a Socialist." The fact that personally he is not class-conscious yet makes no difference. We win his attention, and then we can drive home the truth of scientific Socialism. I am opposed to it for this reason—and this sums up the whole thing—that it is a dictatorial plan; not with Socialists, but with those men whom we are trying to convert and make into Socialists. Therefore, I am opposed to that. If the committee would amend it and simply say, "Unless appointed for merit only," it would not hurt. This Comrade Gridley was a veteran in the Civil War. He is an old comrade, and in most of the states——

DEL. MAILLY: I rise to a point of order. We are not discussing Comrade Gridley.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. I want to remind the delegate that you have one more minute.

DEL. KEOWN: Well, that is enough —plenty. Under the law in Massachusetts men who are ex-soldiers are given the preference in civil service, and in some cases they do not have to take examinations at all. Therefore, even though it would be a civil service position, they would be barred out because they were relieved of the need of taking a civil service examination. I hope the committee will include a provision similar to the one that was proposed by the minority report offered by Comrade Titus.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): As it stands now the article says that if anybody gets a civil service position directly or indirectly by the aid of a capitalist party, then he may become a member of the party. That is, as it stands now.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me; I do not understand.

DEL. JONAS: I say, as it stands now, if the article should be adopted, then it says that if anybody has a political office—civil service office—and has obtained that by the aid, directly or indirectly, of a capitalistic party, then he may become a member of the party. Read it and you will find it.

Delegates Simons and Mills arose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills

DEL. SIMONS: I rise to a point of information. I want to know whether it is the policy of this chairman to give the floor to the first one that is on the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: We asked the committee to report on this platform——

DEL. SIMONS: Are they to have the preference?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills is one of the committee, and it was decided, or at least the Chair has ruled, that when there is any doubt as to the interpretation of what they submit they should have the preference, and after hearing what they say you will be recognized in due order.

DEL. SIMONS: I will not appeal, but I think I am entitled to the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I am not asking the floor on behalf of the committee; I am asking to speak on the main question as an individual delegate. If I am in order I have the floor?

THE CHAIRMAN: You have ten minutes.

DEL. MILLS: Thank you. I am very sure there are no delegates here that are not in favor of the rule we have just adopted, that in order to become a member of the Socialist Party the applicant must withdraw from all connection with any other political party. That was adopted practically by a unanimous vote. Now, this new clause was first considered in an effort to secure agreement on the clause which we have already adopted, and comes before us now not as a part of the clause on which we have voted, but as a separate proposition. I can see no good reason why the clause now before the convention should be adopted. All that we can reasonably ask has already been provided for. All that this clause will provide will be a means of making trouble, and further, of bringing us into positions where, at the very hour when we may need most to act, we will have tied our hands. Think for a moment of a few of the conditions which are not at all improbable. We are a legislative body; there are a dozen Socialist members; they constitute the representatives of the Socialist Party. In the midst of discussion a man who has been elected as a Democrat renounces his allegiance to the Democratic party, denies that he shall any longer in any way whatsoever have any connection whatsover with the party that elected him. Must he first resign and go home to be elected over again? Or shall we, while we are acting under the capitalist state, take such advantage of the capitalist organization under which we are acting as will enable us to the greatest effect to fight the battles of the working class? (Applause.) Again: A judge is on the bench; a case directly involving the rights of the Socialist Party under the legal requirements which we have already established, comes up. The judge on the bench hearing the case becomes interested and convinced, and joins the Socialist Party, or offers to join. Must he resign the vantage ground which he already holds for service to the Socialist Party and place himself where he cannot serve, before he can become a member with us? (Voices, "No.") Let me ask you a question: May a man be a good and regular member of the Socialist Party who wears an old party badge on his coat? No. Very well. Fifty thousand Democrats in Chicago wore McKinley badges in the campaign of 1896, with a McKinley badge on the outside of their coats and another kind of a badge on the inside of the lapel of their coats. Shall we say to a man that he must fight single-handed with his own boss in his own shop before he shall be permitted to join with his comrades in the class-conscious movement—man for man, outside of the shop and among the comrades everywhere? (Applause.) Again: As to positions held by political appointment: The comrades in Chicago know—I presume it is equally true in New York, although I do not know—that rarely is there a man who is a motorman or a conductor on a city street car who does not hold his place on the recommendation of a ward boss or an alderman or a mayor. Shall we tie our hands so that no man can help us until he shall first sacrifice his ability to stay alive, and then serve us while he starves? (Applause.) We have already covered every essential point when we have demanded that a man shall cease to be a Democrat or Republican or belong to any other organization in order to join ours. If we will stand to the end, and a unit all the

time, and having made that provision, we are safe. (Applause.)

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I hope the delegates to this convention will not allow themselves to be swayed or carried off their feet by a flood of reactionary sentiment. (Applause and hisses.) You can hiss, but that is the strongest argument you can make against our plea. The time has come when we have got to take a stand on this question. The time has come when we must differentiate between capitalist office-holders and Socialist office-holders. It is no argument to say that because a man is a motorman or is forced by compulsion to appeal to a ward boss to get his job—it is no argument to say that we should not keep him out of the Socialist Party. We have had experience in this matter in the East. We had it in the Socialist Labor Party, and every time we yielded we suffered. Go to Syracuse, New York. The Socialist Party had a vote of 2,500, I believe, in Syracuse. The candidate for mayor on the Socialist Labor ticket got 2,500 votes, and after the election he was appointed fire commissioner, and what happened to the movement? We cannot poll 300 votes in Syracuse to-day. He was expelled from the party, as he should have been, and the party has never recovered from the shock. Now, this is meant to be a general rule; you cannot cite instances. Every general rule must affect some individuals, and you cannot cite individual cases as an excuse for not establishing a general rule. We have got to take our stand one way or the other. We have got to announce to the world that we have no affiliation, direct or indirect, with any capitalist party or any one holding a position by virtue of a capitalist party anywhere. (Applause.) I have heard enough of this. This is the sort of talk that is causing trouble in the movement. Leave that substitute out, and you will have more trouble than you ever had before. It is because there is no specific law of the party affecting such cases that we have trouble everywhere. Take Comrade Gridley of Indiana, against whom I could not vote for a seat in this convention, not for any personal reason, but because I hate to sit in a Socialist convention with any one holding a position, whether with large or small remuneration, at the hands of a capitalist party. We do not need—I say, the Socialist Party, representing the working class of the world, does not need to yield one jot of its position. We are gaining strength everywhere. Look at Milwaukee, look at Massachusetts, look at Montana, look everywhere, and we are making advances, and along a straight line. We do not need to yield, we do not need to divert ourselves one inch or one jot from our position. We can succeed without yielding anything. The movement is ours, if we hold to it, but let us turn aside and allow ourselves to be swayed by any other consideration but that of devotion to the principles of the Socialist movement, and that moment we encounter confusion and invite disintegration, and that is what we must avoid. We must take our position and we must hold to it, no matter what individual may be hurt by it. We must hold it against all comers, and, holding that position, we can go on from Milwaukee to Chicago, from Chicago to New York, from New York to San Francisco, and capture the powers of government in this country without regard to the Democratic or Republican or Independent or Citizens' Party, and by virtue alone of the class-conscious ballots of the Socialist working class. (Applause.)

DEL. SIMONS: Well, Comrade Mailly has said a good deal of what I was going to say. I want to ask the committee, in order to get a little information on this, as to whether this proviso will exclude judges of election; whether they will be permitted, although they are appointive officers, as they are in most of the cities of the United States, in Chicago, Denver and several others; whether there is any proviso by which we can accept those officers.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you repeat the question? I did not hear.

DEL. SIMONS: Can the Socialist Party, if this becomes a part of the Constitution, accept the offices of judges of election where those are appointed by the political powers that be, while we are still a minority party?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is for the committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT: My construction is that I think they would not be barred from accepting them. We have here "political offices to which they shall have been elected or appointed by or through the assistance of any capitalist party." Wherever judges of election are

to be appointed giving representation to the Socialist party, it is by a statute adopted by the people, and not by any party, and it is not by grace or by the assistance of a political party, but by virtue of our rights secured by statute. (Applause.) I suppose that covers it, and yet it does not state it very clearly. Then under those conditions I am in favor of this. It seems to me that while we may recognize at once that individuals will be struck by the action; that while here and there are men who have taken official places as motormen, or are employed on sewer works and in the various fields of municipal labor, and who are absolutely unaffected by the fact that they are appointed under political influence, yet there will be here and there individuals to whom this applies. Yet we cannot finally make rules for individuals. As Comrade Mailly has said, we must make a rule to fit the case, and we do not want any man within the Socialist Party whose allegiance is divided, who owes a double allegiance, and that is true whether we recognize it when he is elected or not; so I am for it.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I desire to submit the following as a substitute for that under consideration at the present time, and then desire to speak upon it: "Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party."

The amendment was seconded, and the Chair having stated the motion, Delegate Barnes continued:

DEL. BARNES: It is not the time for us to waver, in my opinion, but to emphasize our declaration of separation entire and complete from all other political parties. (Applause.) I will read again this proposition I have submitted. Out of the experience of the past in Pennsylvania we present this proposition. We want to say that during the anthracite coal strike, when thousands of miners turned their eyes toward this Socialistic propaganda and found comfort in Socialistic philosophy, they sent shivers down the spinal columns of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the minute that they feared the rise of the proletariat, they began to offer specious arguments to the working class, and to put them on school boards, and make them petty officers. What for? Because they loved them more, or because they feared us greater? They tried in this insidious manner to undermine our party, to create confusion and enervate our movement. What was it for? It was done simply to confuse and defeat the objects of the Socialist movement, and it has to a considerable extent served the purpose that they have in view. And the State Committee of Pennsylvania, in substance, adopted this very proposition as a safeguard against that in the future. They adopted it, and persons who became members of the Socialist Party, when they saw the tide setting in our way and we had some show to strike them, they immediately said, "Don't you want this or that position?" A number of our comrades said, "No, we won't accept a position." But they said, "Accept it. We know you are a Socialist; but accept it anyhow. We recognize only the ability of the man." And immediately a discussion arose saying that it was an honorary position; it was not a remunerative position, and they should accept it. And around that point an argument ensued detracting from the harmony and unity that should have existed. Therefore, I submit that this is the strongest declaration, the most clean-cut and comprehensive, and the least possible to misunderstand, and I want to read it again, so that you may become acquainted with the phraseology (reading the amendment). We don't want any cabinet positions by grace of the appointment of the President. We want no members of our party to occupy positions honorary or remunerative, because they don't want Socialists because they are of the working class, but they want Socialists to gain votes. We will find enough of the working class of America outside of places of political preferment to carry our grand movement to triumphant success. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee informs the Chair that the committee is ready to accept Comrade Barnes' substitute in lieu of their recommendation.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I am in favor of the substitute of Comrade Barnes. We must have a rule of that kind to keep our movement clear in Wisconsin. Since our victory last month almost every politician in Mil-

waukee has made the sudden discovery that he was a Socialist all his life (laughter) and a great deal better Socialist than Victor Berger ever dared to be. We have a rule in our Constitution in Wisconsin that in the first place no man holding office in any of the old parties can become a member of the Socialist Party—unless it be that his position is held under the civil service. Second, no one can run for office in the Socialist Party unless he has been a member in good standing for two years. (Applause.) And it is those two rules that have kept our movement in Wisconsin clean, progressive and socialistic, and a rule of this kind is absolutely necessary in order to keep up the identity of our party in Wisconsin. A year ago last winter I was going up to Madison—Madison is the capital of our state, where they make the laws—and I had occasion to be in the same car with a dozen members of the Jefferson Club of Milwaukee. That is the Tammany Club of Milwaukee. They knew very well that our party was making grand headway, because we are keeping at it all the time—not with oratory, not with speeches, but we are keeping at it with literature all the time, and they knew where the literary wind was blowing at that time. The Secretary of that club declared he was going to join the Social Democratic Party, because that is the only party that stands for liberty, etc. We couldn't accept him, but about a dozen men in that car declared they were going to join our party, and asked me what I thought about it. I told them it was a good thing; I joined it a long time ago; but I told them there was one little condition in our party which they must expect to comply with. No man could come in our party from the old parties, I told them, if he has the office bee in his bonnet. I told them we had a little ice plant connected with our party, and he is put on the ice block for ten years. After ten years we take out the man and look at him and if he is still red, then we take him up—he is a good man. But if he turns white or is blonde or blue or yellow, he is no good; he is rotten. (Laughter.) Not one of those people said a word. We never heard of them again. They were not willing to be in the ice box. Now, you see, Comrades, a rule of this kind is absolutely necessary in order to keep the identity of our movement in Wisconsin. We have between 19,000 and 20,000 votes. We have 2,000 more than the republicans and come within 2,000 of the democrats. Under these conditions, unless we have a rule like this we could not retain our identity.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I am not taking exception to the remarks of our friend Comrade Mills. I remember about a year ago when a certain comrade, Rev. Hagerty of Arkansas, sent a note to all the Socialist papers of this country announcing to the Socialist movement of America that a great revolution had taken place in Arkansas. And that revolution was to the effect that two Democratic members of the legislature of Arkansas had become Socialists and would be from now on known as the representatives of the Socialist movement. The *Appeal to Reason* and a dozen other Socialist papers published that rotten information without a line of comment. Not one of those Socialist papers had the courage to come out and criticise that contention. St. Louis *Labor* took the trouble to criticise the gentleman from Arkansas and inform the Socialists of this country that whenever the Democratic legislators of Arkansas were ready to join the Socialist movement they would have to resign from the Democratic party, get out of the legislature and take a position in the rank and file of the Socialist movement. Now, I hope that the substitute motion of Comrade Barnes will be adopted, and I hope that the *Appeal to Reason*, nor any other Socialist paper, nor Father Hagerty, will ever send out such rotten Democratic notes as was done a year ago.

At this point there were numerous calls of "Question," and upon motion of Delegate Nagel (Ky.) the previous question was ordered.

DEL. IRENE M. SMITH (Ore.): I wish to speak in favor of the adoption of the amendment. I believe, just as Comrade Mailly said, the time has come when the Socialist Party has got to take a stand on this question. What we want to-day is not quantity, but quality. That is what we want, and if I had my way I should make it harder to get into this party instead of easier. The idea of opening the doors of this party wide and allowing all sorts of people to come into it would mean to become swamped with the opposition of parties that would

come in for that set purpose. Then I speak in favor of this amendment as one of the safeguards of the future. And that is what we are here for,—to lay down a constitution that will in some way protect us against the encroachment of the enemy within our ranks. I want to say that there has got to be sacrifices made, and great sacrifices, if this party wins. And I want to say that the man or woman who wants to come into this party to-day and thinks more of a capitalist job than they do of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we don't want them in it. (Applause.) I stand in favor of the amendment, and I hope that every delegate here who understands the principles of Socialism will put himself on record by voting this into our constitution as a safeguard for the future.

Delegate Titus of Washington requested the floor to speak in favor of the amendment, but the Chair stated that the floor would be given only one more speaker on this subject, and that he or she must be against the amendment.

DEL. WILL (Kas.): It seems to me that those in favor of this proposition are taking an entirely inconsistent position. They speak of Socialists holding a political job in this way being influenced against the Socialist Party. I submit there are different kinds of jobs. There are political jobs; there are educational jobs; there are religious; there are industrial jobs. I submit that a man who is influenced by bread and butter considerations if he holds a political position will be influenced by bread and butter considerations if he holds any of these other positions. And I submit in all consistency that if we are to exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold political positions, then we must also exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold educational positions; we must exclude those who hold religious positions; we must also exclude those who hold industrial positions. What is the difference whether a man holds his place by mere appointment from the Mayor of the City of Chicago, or whether he holds his position in the great department store of Marshall Field, or whether he holds a job in the oil works of John D. Rockefeller, or whether he holds any other great trust position? In all consistency, my friends, I maintain if we cut out one class of workers we must cut out all the other classes. Another consideration, it seems to me if there is anything we need in the Socialist Party it is economic power. One of the difficulties under which we labor at the present time is lack of means to push our movement. We want people who are able to pay their dues and carry on the propaganda of this movement, and in order to do that we must have some means. Now I inquire, is it better that a member of this party shall be in a starving position, or whether he shall have a little income that will enable him to help him in carrying on this movement?

There were further cries of "Question!" at this point.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair wishes to make the announcement that under the amended rules after the previous question has been ordered, two delegates may speak, one on one side of the question and one on the other. That time has been exhausted now, and there is nothing before the House whatsoever except to vote on Delegate Barnes' substitute, and I call on the Secretary to again read that substitute. The Secretary has the floor.

A DELEGATE: Can I rise for information?

THE CHAIRMAN: The time for information has passed. The Secretary will give you all the information needed at this time by reading the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: The substitute as offered by Delegate Barnes of Pennsylvania, and accepted by the Committee on Constitution in place of the one which they have advocated, is as follows: "Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party."

The question then being put upon the adoption of the substitute motion of Delegate Barnes, the substitute was adopted amid the cheers and applause of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills asks the floor on a question of personal privilege, and it is hereby granted if there is no objection.

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to call your attention to the fact that I made a

speech on one side and voted on the other side——

DEL. PARKS (Kas.): I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: You objected too late. I asked if there was no objection, and heard none. Comrade Mills may proceed.

DEL. MILLS: I am very sure I shall do no one any harm, unless it is myself. I am very anxious to state to these Comrades that in the address which I gave I spoke with the distinct understanding, as I stated, that the first clause was sufficient to cover the case which was before us. The judgment of the convention as indicated in the discussion after I had spoken changed my view in regard to that matter.

DEL. PARKS: I object to this speech now taking our time. I was absent from the hall——

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for your information that the delegate asked the privilege of explaining his vote after speaking upon one side and voting on the other, and I asked distinctly if there was any objection, and there was none offered.

DEL. PARKS: I raise the point of order, Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: Please be in order. The Chair is not responsible for your absence from this convention. Delegate Mills has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: One sentence finishes all I have to say. Once before, before this convention, I plead for the adoption of a rule by this convention that once and for all time we might have an end to this discussion. I believe the end has arrived.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee on Constitution has the floor.

Thereupon, Article 3 of the report was read as follows:

> "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party."

Delegate Simons of Illinois moved that the paragraph as read be temporarily laid on the table, which motion was duly seconded and carried.

Representation on National Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee then read Section 1, Article IV, as reported by the Committee, as follows:

> "ARTICLE 4. Section 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year."

DEL. HILLQUIT: The only proposition introduced by the committee was that each state having a membership exceeding 500 have an additional representation on the National Committee for each 500, which would be one for the state organization and one for each major fraction of 1,000, which would mean 501; and then again one for every 1,000. The reason for our doing this is, on the last two referendums the party has first expressed itself as opposed to the present method in vogue giving representation to each state regardless of the number of its members; and on the second vote it has expressed its disapproval of one man on the committee casting more votes than another. Thus, both methods were expressly disapproved by the party membership. The only way out of it was to give to each state a number proportionate to its membership. It has been suggested that we give to each state one National Committeeman for every 100 members, but that would have made the National an unwieldy body. It would practically be something like this convention in permanent session. In order to avoid that, and in order to do justice to those states that do have the larger membership, your committee suggests this, which is by far not ideal, but the ideal is not of this world. It is, however, as near doing justice to all sides of the question as possible. As it is, the older and stronger organizations will have the majority of the committee, and it is proper that they should have because they represent the vast majority of the party membership. They will at the same time not have such an overwhelming majority as to practically nullify the representation of the smaller states. The Executive Committee will be small in number. Its office or its functions have also been limited somewhat, and it

will be easy to transact business with it by means of correspondence. I may here mention that the National Committee meetings, as we will find subsequently, have also been curtailed, and when they will take place, if this method of representation is adopted, they will really amount to conventions between conventions, that is, every two years after a regular convention has been held, but representing a smaller body of delegates. So those were the reasons which actuated your committee in submitting this proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the reading of the committee's report. Any objections to its adoption?

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I rise to move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the paragraph will be adopted.

DEL. LEFEVER (Ark.): I wish to amend Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution by striking out the words "average dues-paying membership," and inserting "membership in good standing."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please note before taking a vote on the amendment that the delegate from Mississippi moves the adoption of the report. The delegate from Mississippi moves the adoption, and the delegate from Arkansas moves an amendment. Get the amendment and read it.

DEL. CURTIS (N. Y.): It occurs to me that this amendment the delegate from Arkansas offers is superficial. I do not see how anybody can be a member of the party unless he is a member in good standing, and he has to show his card with the stamp up to the date of the meeting in order to do business or take part in the discussions. It seems to me that we waste a good deal of valuable time in discussing these amendments.

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): The matter that has taken up our time for the last few minutes is already in this Article.

Delegate Carr of Illinois here moved the previous question, and it was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary is getting the amendment in correct shape. Sometimes we have lots of time, and again we are driven pretty fast. The Secretary will please read.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is as follows: to strike out of Section 1, of Article IV, the words "the average dues-paying membership," and insert the words "members in good standing."

Thereupon the question being put upon the amendment offered by Delegate Rose, the amendment was lost. Whereupon by vote, Section 1, of Article IV, was adopted as reported by the committee.

Method of Electing National Committeemen.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee thereupon read Section 2 of Article IV, as follows:

"The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall be not more than two years."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to the section?

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I move to amend by adding thereto that the members of the committee elected by referendum shall be bona fide residents of the state they represent. That is the substance, and I would thank the Secretary if he would put it in proper form.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee has covered that by stating "the members of this committee shall be elected of and from the membership of the state which they represent." And if he is from the membership of that state, he must be a member of that state.

THE CHAIRMAN: With that understanding, you withdraw your objection?

DEL. KERRIGAN: Yes.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move to strike out the word "two" and insert the word "one."

This motion not receiving a second, the amendment was withdrawn.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I move that the section shall also include "that he be a bona fide citizen of that state."

Delegate Nagel of Kentucky called for the previous question, and upon vote it was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will please take notice that there are but two more delegates to be heard and Delegate Spargo has the floor—upon which side?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Against.

I desire to speak against the resolution in its present form for the same reason as that which was raised by Delegate Kerrigan, which by misunderstanding between Delegate Kerrigan and the committee has not been met. The terms of the resolution are that the members of the committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states which they represent, but it does not provide that the member of the National Committee must be a resident of the state which he represents. (Applause.) I make that point in particular, Comrade Chairman, because in this convention now I understand we have delegates representing states of which they are not residents, and I think the point is important because we want to specifically provide that no man can be a member of the National Committee except he be a resident of the state which he represents. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: A point of information: Comrade Hillquit appears to have it different in his reading than it is in print.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegates that the committee has accepted the suggestion offered by Comrade Kerrigan and embodied it in its original proposition, and I would suggest to the Secretary that it be specifically pointed out wherein that change lies.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As we had it originally it reads: "Members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states," and so on. As we have it amended, it is "The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from members of the states and territories which they respectively represent," implying that the National Committeeman must be a member of the state which he represents. It is pointed out, however, and the committee sees it, that this point does not meet the objection raised by Delegate Kerrigan. That objection is that the members of this committee shall be bona fide residents and citizens of the states which they respectively represent, and shall be elected by such states by referendum. The committee accepts this recommendation of Delegate Kerrigan and is ready to embody it——

A DELEGATE: I object to that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee report is before us in the manner in which it was read. If it is objectionable you have to vote it down.

Thereupon a vote was taken upon the adoption of the section of the report as read by the committee and the same was adopted. The Chairman of the committee read Section 3 of Article IV of the report as follows:

MEETINGS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"The National Committee shall meet in regular session once a year in all even numbered years, when no national convention of the party shall take place. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of the members of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall be determined by the National Committee."

DEL. HILLQUIT: I again call the attention of the delegates to the fact that these words "once a year" are the printer's mistake and do not belong in there. The intention was to have the National Committee meet once in four years. On presidential years we have national conventions and no national committee meetings. Two years thereafter, in the even numbered years, there are congressional elections, and the National Committee is to meet on such years only. So that we will have alternate meetings,—in 1904 is the national convention, in 1906 will be the National Committee meeting, 1908 again a national convention, and so on.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the delegates will take their printed reports of Section 3, Article IV, and erase the words "once a year," then they will have the committee's report before them just as it is made.

Upon motion the section was adopted as read, striking out the words "once a year." Delegate Hillquit of the committee then read Section 4 of Article IV, as follows:

"Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings snall be paid from the national treasury."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I think there is a great deal of injustice done to the membership of the party by paying the expenses of this National Committee, which I have noticed, even from Louisville, Ky., amounted to $65 for

three or four days' session; and when we come to the national convention, which is nothing more or less than a little larger representation of the party, the locals pay the expenses, and when they come from a great deal further distance than some of these people who have spent $60 or $65 for their expenses they are allowed the munificent sum of $15 to cover a week's session. Now then, I do not believe we should pay the entire expenses of the National Committee. I believe we should pay mileage and reasonable hotel expenses. A majority of the delegates donate their services to the party when they are attending the convention, and I think the expenses of the National Committee can be curtailed. If we allow mileage and reasonable hotel expenses, even if they come from California or Maine, the expenses will be enormous, and I think that is as much as the national organization will stand for. If the committeeman has additional expenses he can turn in his bill to the state organization and let the state pay for it, in my opinion. I am opposed to paying the smaller representation of this body all their expenses, and not the larger representation.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to state that the committee took that into consideration. These meetings you will notice take place once in four years, and the delegate from Ohio agrees that the fares and hotel bills should be paid. I really don't think it is worth while discussing for ten minutes whether the shines and shaves of the delegates shall be included or not. At the general convention once in four years is where they spend the most time.

The question being called for upon the adoption of the section, same was adopted as read, and the chairman of the committee proceeded to read Section 5 of Article IV of the report, as follows:

"Between the sessions of the National Committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read, and the same was carried.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Was there not a rule passed here at the opening of this discussion that when no objection was made these articles should be considered adopted?

THE CHAIRMAN: Such a rule was adopted, but we find this method is more expeditious than waiting for objections. The Secretary will read the next section.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee thereupon read Section 6 of Article IV of the report, as follows:

"The National Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure, not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution."

Upon motion duly seconded the section was adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move to add the following to Article IV: "The National Committee shall arrange the rules and order of business for all conventions, subject to adoption by the convention."

A DELEGATE (Ill.): I desire to offer an amendment to Article IV. I ask that the delegate accept an amendment to his amendment, that it be subject to "adoption or amendment" by the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: You wish to add the words, subject to adoption "or amendment" by convention. Subject to "approval" would be better, perhaps.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee is quite agreeable to accept it, but it does not belong in Article IV. When you take up Article V, covering the duties and powers of the National Committee, you will see that that is where it properly belongs.

THE CHAIRMAN: There will be no objections to the committee having the realignment of this and putting it in its proper order. The question before us is on the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate Bickett.

DEL. BICKETT: I will withdraw it if it is the desire of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is the property of the convention, simply to be voted for or against.

The question being then put on the amendment offered by Delegate Bickett, the same was adopted.

DEL. O'MALLEY (Mont.): I desire to amend Article 1, by adding, "The members of the National Committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective state organizations."

The motion to amend was seconded, and stated by the Chairman.

DEL. MAILLY: As a matter of information to the delegates, I wish to state that that is properly a part of the state constitutions. While I believe the national constitution can specify in what manner the members of the committee shall be elected, yet I believe the state constitutions have the right to legislate as to how any of its officials can be removed; and I submit to Comrade O'Malley if it would not be better not to insert that clause in the constitution, but leave that to the state constitutions. A state may wish to delegate its power to the State Committee, and I think it would be much better to leave that to the state constitutions.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that this provision is covered by Article XII, Section 7, reading as follows: "All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate."

DEL. O'MALLEY: Then I desire to withdraw the amendment.

Objection being raised to the withdrawing of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley, the Chair ruled that the amendment was the property of the Convention and the question was put on the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley and the same was duly adopted.

Delegate McKee of California offered the following amendment to Article IV, and moved its adoption: "The State Secretaries shall be members ex-officio of the National Committee."

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I wish to make a few remarks on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Committee on Constitution has the floor. Before you can make any remarks on the amendment you will have to second the motion for its adoption.

DEL. PATTON: I second the motion. As a member of the State Committee of California it has been my experience that one of the hardest things we have to contend with is that the members of the committee are not in sufficiently close touch with the Socialist movement to do the best work for the party and I think that, in so far as possible, the members of our party who are supposed to look after the best interests of our party should be put in as close touch as possible with the Socialist movement of America.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): It is a rule in our state that one man shall not hold two offices, and while that word "ex-officio" necessarily makes him a committeeman while he is holding the office of State Secretary, under our State Constitution one man could not hold the office of Secretary and at the same time hold the office of National Committeeman.

Delegate Nagel of Kentucky moved that the amendment be tabled, and the motion was seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any further amendment to Article IV? If not, the committee will proceed to the next article.

DEL. McKEE: The section I have just read—the amendment is laid on the table. Now, does not the original question recur?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, these are original amendments to Article IV, to come in as separate or distinct sections. The last amendment offered has been laid on the table. The delegate will please observe what is going on on the floor of this convention and then it will not be necessary to ask the Chair for any information upon it.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): It is very difficult to hear back here, and I want to find out where we are.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is for the delegates to know.

DEL. TITUS: I give notice that at the proper time I want to discuss this section.

THE CHAIRMAN: What section?

DEL. TITUS: The section on the question of the duties of the Executive Committee, Article V.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have not Article V before us yet; neither can we have it before us until the committee reports. The delegate will please be in order until the committee reports.

DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Chairman Hillquit then read Article V of the constitution, as follows:

"Article V. Duties and Powers of National Committee. Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national

nominating conventions and special conventions decided upon by referendum of the party; to make reports to national conventions; to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the Executive Committee. Section 2. The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ."

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. Are there any objections to its adoption?

It was moved and seconded that the article be adopted as read.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I want to say that I have a general objection which I desire to make to this article as well as to Article VI, and more forcibly, possibly, to Article VI, but it applies also to Article V. My general objection is that the powers of the National Committee are made less and those of the Executive Committee are made greater. There is a tendency to centralization of power in the hands of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee of seven, as far as I can see by a hasty reading of Article VI, is not subject to the National Committee at all except when it is elected. Then it has all the power in its own hands. Now if there is any provision by which the action of the Executive Committee of seven can be suggested by referendum to the National Committee, I fail to see it.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): Section 4 states: "The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee." If the comrade will look at Section 4 of Article VI he will see that all the acts and resolutions of the Executive Committee shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

DEL. TITUS: I perceive that, Mr. Chairman, but that does not say or specify in what way it shall be subject to the National Committee. At least there should be a provision in Article VI,—because Article V refers to the same subject—there should be a provision under Section 4 of Article VI whereby a certain number of that committee could call for a referendum and compel the suspension of activity until the National Committee had acted. I object entirely to the removal of power lodged in the membership. The National Committee represents the membership. This Executive Committee as it stands here has too much power and should be made subject to the National Committee, which represents the membership.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to call Comrade Titus' attention to the fact that the Executive Committee, being subject to the revision of the National Committee, is, therefore, subject to the rules of the National Committee, and the National Committee can adopt any rules it sees fit, so long as they are not inconsistent with this constitution, to subject the Executive Committee to its control. (Applause.) The National Committee can adopt rules governing a referendum of the committee at any time, just as it did recently when it adopted the rule at the suggestion of the National Committeeman from Colorado that upon application of six members of the National Committee, a referendum can be taken upon any act of the National Secretary or Quorum. The National Committee has the power to adopt such rules, and I submit that any clause specifying what rules the National Committee shall adopt will not be flexible enough for the work of the committee. The National Committee should be left free to adopt its own rules, and I think it will adopt sensible rules once it gets together and the members come to understand each other. Now another point: Comrade Titus is opposed to the centralization of power. I am, too. Those who think that by my report I favored a centralization of power are mistaken. The fact is that during the past year, since the selection of the quorum whose term expires at this convention, the actual work of the national office has been supervised and controlled by the quorum. It is absolutely true that the acts of the quorum have been so satisfactory in a general way—there were one or two things that were reversed by the National Committee—but the very fact that behind the quorum was a committee that was liable to change the rules or acts which it adopted, that very fact unconsciously made the quorum more particular about its actions. Therefore, the fact that you have a National Committee behind the Executive Committee for the purpose of supervision and direction or alteration of any of its acts, will make

the Executive Committee careful of what it does, and so I do not believe that it does centralize power. It does this: it facilitates business. It enables us to go along and transact the ordinary detail and routine of the party organization without having to wait three or four weeks for the National Committee to act upon it. During the past year at different times the members of the quorum will testify that the work of the national organization and the acts of the quorum were held up for three weeks at a time, simply because some member of the National Committee did not like it and he objected to it. Now we want to provide against that. We don't want to invite any more of that kind of business. This has been suggested in my report, and while I am not altogether satisfied with the report of the committee, I accept it at present, but we must provide for the organization of our party machinery and its adjustment in such a way as to ensure democracy and efficiency at the same time. I am willing to accept the report of the committee, because I am certain that the National Committee being behind the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee will not exceed its powers, which are becoming more and more limited with the development of the organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of adjournment has now arrived, and if there is no objection the further discussion of the question before us will be taken up at the beginning of the afternoon session. Before we adjourn, Secretary Dobbs desires to make an announcement, and he has the floor for that purpose.

Secretary Dobbs then announced that immediately after the adjournment, if the delegates would go to the north side of the building they would find seats arranged there and a photographer who would take a group photograph of the delegates.

On motion, a recess was then taken until 1:30 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION—AFTERNOON

Chairman Sieverman called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock sharp.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read for the information of the delegates what is before us.

THE SECRETARY: Comrades, the matter before us was Article V of the Constitution, and it has been amended by Comrade Bickett of Ohio, as follows: "The National Committee shall also arrange the rules and order of business for all such conventions subject to approval by the convention."

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject before the house is as read by the Secretary, and it is now open for discussion.

The question was called for and at the request of the Chairman, the Secretary then re-read Section 1 of Article V as amended, of the report of the Committee on Constitution.

The question was then put to a vive voce vote and carried and the section as amended was declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the Secretary of the Committee on Constitution take the place of the chairman of that committee in his absence? We will call upon our Reading Secretary to read Section 2 of Article V.

AN OFFICIAL PARTY ORGAN.

Section 2 of Article V was then read by the Reading Secretary, as follows: "The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ."

It was moved and seconded that the section as read be adopted.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I move that it be stricken out.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Toole of Maryland moves that the section be stricken out. Are there any remarks on the motion?

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I move that the amendment be tabled.

The motion was seconded.

The motion to table was put to a vote, but the Chairman being in doubt as to the result, a rising vote was then taken, and the amendment declared tabled, the result of the vote being 54 in favor and 13 opposed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is the recommendation

of the committee, which is Section 2, of Article V. The motion before us is upon its adoption. Are there any remarks?

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Mr. Chairman, this brings up the question in another form of what was before us last night. The question here is not, shall we publish an official organ, but the question is, shall we be bound for four years not to publish an official organ. (Applause.) That is the question. Who knows what circumstances may arise before the next national convention? We may want an official organ, and if we pass this section we will bind ourselves for four years, comrades, that we shall not publish an official organ. I want to say this—I want to repeat what I said last night: I say we should have the authority to publish an official organ to hold over the heads of the powerful papers in this country. I want to call your attention to the fact that the *Appeal to Reason* has failed to publish the report of the Press Committee which was brought in last night and all the arguments and discussions which we had here last night, and which was against that paper. There is nothing in its report to-day of what occurred last night, and that is one reason why we should have something to hold over a paper like this. (Applause.) I contend, Mr. Chairman, that the power of our organization to publish a paper will give us a power to place in opposition to those papers like the *Appeal*, will give us a paper and a power to compete with them. It will give us something to fight down their influence if it should go wrong. I don't want the national organization to have anything to do with Wayland's paper or anybody else's paper, but I do want the organization to have the power, if it sees fit to do so, to publish a paper of its own, and I say here that this does not mean that we shall publish an official organ, but it reserves to us the power within the next four years to do so if circumstances should arise rendering that action necessary. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, and comrades, I hope that the convention will vote down this section so that in the future if any trouble arises, if the occasion arises without any trouble, the organization can publish an official organ if it sees fit. (Loud applause.)

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): The comrade seems to overlook the language of this clause. It does not prevent the organization from publishing anything it sees fit, at any time, but simply specifies that the National Committee shall not publish it. Now, he must not think, as he seems to think, that the Socialist Party would be bound for the next four years by this document that we debate here to-day. I think that we should adopt this as reported back by the committee.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that there is a great deal being said in denunciation and condemnation against newspaper men here by men who know nothing about newspapers. Now, I know nothing about the *Appeal to Reason*; I have not been in its office since I came to this city to this convention, but I am a newspaper publisher, and I know that at the time we closed this meeting last night it was too late for the *Appeal to Reason* to get the matter in shape for the printer so that it could be published this morning. And, in regard to the matters that we discussed last night, if we can get some of these men who know nothing about the newspapers, that could get newspapers out in five minutes after a meeting closes, we are in favor of having them publish the papers for the party, and we are ready to resign those positions. But, I submit to you, Comrade Chairman, that these things that we are debating upon, about the press, are not right, and we should take these matters into consideration before condemning a paper or a set of papers. If the *Appeal to Reason* does not come out to-morrow morning and give the proceedings of the convention, then it is time to condemn it.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): It does not seem to me that the question for discussion here is the *Appeal to Reason* or any other paper. It seems to me that the question which should be discussed is whether the National Committee should have the right to publish a paper if they so desire. The gentleman on the other side, in my opinion, has amply stated it. It is another danger that we should avoid, unless we want a repetition of De Leonism. Do we want a repetition of De Leonism again? I believe that if there is any one thing that has perpetuated this man De Leon in the Socialist movement in

this country it is the publication of that paper called *The People,* and it is within the possibilities that if you give that right to a committee, that we would have a repetition of that again. I believe that this is a wise provision and ought to be adopted.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I move the previous question.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I second the motion.

The question was put on the motion to call up the previous question, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Three-minute speeches, one on each side, are now in order. Comrade Wessling has the floor.

DEL. WESSLING (N. Y.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I think this is only a repetition of what we said last night when discussing this matter, and I believe that the overwhelming sentiment then was that we cannot financially afford an official organ, and if we cannot afford it, that we do not want it. And I think it is only proper that I should emphasize this fact. Now, what our opponents point out, that we may have to have an official organ, if that is true, and if we cannot have it in the next four years if this provision is adopted, then I am the last man to come in here and vote for it. But I think when the gentleman considers his position he will find that he is trying to defeat the very ends for which we are working. He is so afraid of the *Appeal to Reason* and of the fact that the *Appeal to Reason* has influence on the membership that he seems to be afraid that the majority of the members of the party will have it in their power in the next four years to designate the *Appeal to Reason,* which he seems to fear so much, as the official organ of the Socialist Party (applause), and for this reason it ought to be voted down. I think that you gentlemen all understand that in the future if you want an official organ, it will only take you three months to have a referendum, and, therefore, I move you that the provision be adopted.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I rise for information. I would like to know whether if this is passed it will be understood as being impossible to have a press bureau and plate matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not the time to take up that matter. The floor is open to one more speaker upon the subject, and you must speak in favor or against the committee's recommendation.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are no points of information permissible here to-day.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Against. I just want to repeat again what I stated, Mr. Chairman, that I do not see why the National Committee should be bound in this matter. It shows we are afraid of the committee we are about to elect. Now, why should we be afraid of the committee we are about to elect? It shows we are afraid of ourselves. We have talked democracy here, but we are afraid of democracy. If we cannot trust the National Committee that we may elect, how can we trust the management of newspapers? How can we trust the people we elect to national congress or to our state legislatures, to represent the interests of the working class there? The same kind of men that we elect to the legislature or to national congress is the kind of men we elect as our National Committee. And are we to say here to-day that the members of the National Committee will use their power wrongfully? No, no, Comrades and Mr. Chairman, I believe that the National Committeemen who are elected will do as they think best, and they will have the interests of the party at heart as they act. So, I say, we ought to have the power reserved to them to publish a paper if the occasion arises for it, and why? I say here that the paper—and I want to say right here it is nothing personal I have against the *Appeal to Reason,* I only cite the *Appeal to Reason* because there is no organization, the National Committee excepted, that has the power that this paper has. I know in my own town that this paper has more influence than any other organization in the Socialist Party, and I believe that it needs a competitor.

The question was then put on the adoption of Section 2 of Article V, as reported by the Committee, and carried, and the article was declared adopted by an almost unanimous vote.

Chairman Hillquit then read Section 1 of Article VI, as follows: "Section 1.

The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee, from the membership of the party."

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

CHAIRMAN HILLQUIT: I am just informed by my colleagues of the committee that they have agreed upon an addition to be made to this section. We desire to add the following: "The majority of the said committee shall not reside within the city in which the headquarters are located." Now I desire to state here before we take up that question, the reasons that actuated your committee in making this recommendation. We believe in the first place that the National Committee as such cannot transact the business of the party. It is a very useful instrument for the correction of any abuses and a very useful and important instrument to have here at all times, watching the administration of business by the National Secretary and the Executive Committee, but when it comes to practical work thirty-six men or thereabouts scattered all over the country cannot transact any business properly and expeditiously. A much smaller committee is required for that purpose, the committee of seven, which we suggested. The work to be performed by the Executive Committee will practically be the same that has heretofore been performed by the so-called local quorum, which really did all the business or directed all the business that was heretofore done. We did not deem it proper, however, to continue the local quorum for this reason: First, it is a misnomer, because the business of the local quorum is mostly transacted by correspondence, and there seems to be no warrant to single out those seven out of that National Committee, if they are only a quorum of the National Committee at large. Furthermore, it makes it an uncertain number. If it is a local quorum of seven, any additional number of the committee may at any time join and you would never know how many men you are to deal with, or what men you are to deal with. For this reason we recommend that an Executive Committee be elected instead of a quorum. We recommend that it be elected by the National Committee and not by the membership at large, for the reason that we will need seven men of recognized business ability (applause) regardless of the question of whether they are good speakers or good writers. The party membership at large is not likely to know any but prominent speakers or writers, and would not know of any men who may be unobtrusive, retiring, unassuming, but of excellent business abilities. (Applause.) We further provide that they be elected from the party membership at large for this reason: We want the seven best men we can get. We did not and do not want a chance to determine it. We do not want to say, as we have said heretofore, that national committeemen from certain states should compose that committee, for it may be and might well happen that the National Committeeman from one of those states might not be fitted for that particular work; or if he were fitted his successor might not be. Now we want to give the National Committee the widest scope possible, we want to allow them to select any men they choose provided they are party members, but we also desire to add a clause now to the effect that not more than three out of seven should be selected from one city, for the reason that it might be objectionable to give one local or one city control of an important committee like this.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, you have heard the reading of the committee's report, together with its own amendment. What is your pleasure?

DEL. FLOATEN (Col.): I move to strike out the word "city" and insert the word "state."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I move you to strike out the words "to be elected by the National Committee" and insert the words "by referendum of the party." (Applause.)

The motion was seconded.

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): I have an amendment to offer to this first section of Article VI. I move that the article be amended to read: "Their term of office shall be two years, but the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are now three amendments before us. The second amendment, I understand, has not been seconded. The delegate from Illinois has the floor.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I wish to move, if the second

amendment has not been seconded, that this be substituted for the whole. I wish to move that this section read as follows: "Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by the National Committee from its own members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer that as a substitute for the whole?

DEL. CARR: I do.

The Secretary then read the substitute of Delegate Carr, and it received a second.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole has been seconded, and I recognize the delegate from Illinois to speak upon it.

DEL. CARR: I feel that the question under discussion this morning in regard to speakers has been disposed of by Article V, by the adoption of that article, and now the question is whether this Executive Committee shall be a sub-committee of the National Committee. It ought to be a committee selected by the National Committee from among its own members. On the plan proposed in the report of the committee, these members will not be approved by the National Committee. Now, it does seem to me that out of all the members of the National Committee which shall be formed, there ought to be seven men with business ability enough to transact the business of this Executive Committee. If the members of this Executive Committee are chosen from the National Committee itself, each one of them will have been approved by the vote of his own state. They will be men who have already been approved by the party at large or by the state from which they come. The National Committee is certainly large enough so that seven able men, fitted for this particular work, can be chosen from among the members of the National Committee, and I am opposed to raising a separate committee, separate from the National Committee, to be selected by the National Committee from men who have not necessarily been approved by the party or by any state, and, therefore, having in effect two committees in a measure separate from each other. On the plan proposed by this substitute, this Executive Committee will become, as it ought to be, the Executive Committee of the National Committee, composed of members of the National Committee who have each already been approved by the respective states. Some of these states will have two or three members on the National Committee. It will be comparatively easy to select men well calculated to hold national office from this committee, men well fitted for such positions, and so it does not seem to me there can be any reason (with apologies to the committee) for selecting these members outside of the National Committee which shall have been elected.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): I am opposed to that amendment. I am opposed to it because it will make the work of that committee almost impracticable. We ought to have a sub-committee or a representative body in that sense, inasmuch as the National Committee is to meet only once every four years, and I submit it would be better and far safer for the largest body to elect that Executive Committee in national convention. Since the national convention and the National Committee are to meet but once in four years, it means that the business that will come before the Executive Committee will be of such importance that it would be safer to leave it to seven men selected by the rank and file of the membership of our party. I submit that should we decide in favor of this amendment it would be the easiest thing possible for political dissensions to creep in, and every time that these seven men would not want to toe the mark as laid down by the National Committee, they would immediately start a war, and it would result in dividing the party into factions. I do believe that since this committee will have all of the important work to supervise it should be chosen from the membership of the party. I am, therefore, opposed to the amendment and in favor of the original question.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I believe that some amendments should be made so that upon the request of three members of the committee they would have a right to bring their action by referendum to the National Committee and there have their actions reviewed. It is useless to conceive for one moment, however, of an Executive Committee elected by the party at large, for they could then say to the National Committee, "You can go your way and we will run this organization as we please." You can easily adjust the situation by

permitting this committee to be elected by the National Committee and giving the National Committee the power, upon the request of three, to review the conduct of the Executive Committee. Furthermore, there is another reason: Very frequently a man who has vast information as a reader and a writer, who is an eloquent speaker, will get the largest number of votes from the membership, and yet very often the men who are the least known are the most capable of filling these positions. We gain our knowledge of their abilities by working with them, by knowing their particular capabilities, and for that reason their worth can only be known to those who actually worked with them, and would not be known to the membership at large. For that reason, also, I believe that the National Committee should elect the Executive Committee as they will be in a better position to pick out men best fitted for these situations, and then by having an amendment so that upon the request of three or more the National Committee shall have a right to review the actions of the Executive Committee through referendum, we can control the situation.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I can readily conceive that if the Executive Committee is elected by the National Committee it would make no difference as far as the electing of capable men is concerned, for the simple reason that our National Committeemen are mostly not here. There may be a few of them here but the majority of the National Committeemen don't know anything more about the members of the party most capable to fill positions on the Executive Committee than the membership does. For that reason I think that all these amendments trying to fix a way of electing an Executive Committee are futile. I submit we must have, however, an Executive Committee for the conduct of the work in the national office, and I think that they should be elected from three states right close together, or four states or five states, so as to make the meeting of the National Executive Committee not too expensive to the party. Three could be elected from the city of Chicago or from the state of Illinois, and three of them or two of them from Wisconsin and one or two from Michigan, or you could divide it up as you please and let the membership either elect them or the convention submit the names of the executive members to the National Committee to be elected. In that way I think we would get the most capable men on the Executive Committee. The National Committee doesn't know any more about men capable of filling these positions than does the membership at large, and in this way I think it would give practically the same result.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Looking at the selection of this committee as provided, it seems to me that it is a misnomer to call it a committee in any sense of the word. The committee is to be chosen from among the persons who vote on the committee. This Executive Committee is not chosen from the members of the National Committee, it has no particular relation to them. It may be composed of members of whom the party membership knows really nothing. Now I hold that it is our business to know and to decide on whom we are entrusting this matter to. The party itself is responsible for the National Committee and we must hold the National Committee responsible for the conduct of the affairs given to them, and we cannot allow them to entrust it to other parties of whom we do not know anything.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I have not spoken as yet on my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you move an amendment?

DEL. OTT: Yes; and I would like to speak on my amendment.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): What is the matter now before the house, Mr. Secretary?

THE SECRETARY: The matter before the house is the substitute which has been offered for all these various amendments by Delegate Carr of Illinois. It reads as follows: "Article VI. Executive Committee. Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be selected by the National Committee from its own members."

DEL. OTT: I ask to speak on the substitute motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the amendment and proceed with the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: An addition was offered first by the committee as follows: "The majority of the Executive Committee shall not be residents of a city where national headquarters are located." It was moved then to amend by striking out the word "city" and by inserting the word "state." This motion was also accepted by the Committee on Constitution. It was moved by Comrade Ott of Wyoming that the members of the Executive Committee be elected by referendum; which was also seconded. A further amendment was offered by Thams of North Dakota, which was as follows: "That the term of office shall be for two years, but that the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only." Then the substitute for the whole was offered by Delegate Carr from Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Wyoming has the floor.

DEL. OTT: Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I believe that the selection of any important committee in this organization by anybody outside of the masses of the people should be voted down by the convention. We have seen how things worked when men have been selected by individual representatives in a body like the United States Senate. We have created there, or the Constitution of the United States has created there, a body of men who are almost invincible. It is called a Millionaires' Club. Now while we may not create a millionaires' club, we will create a form of organization which tends to individualism. I am strictly opposed to the selection of any man without he has the vote of the party behind him, and I believe that we should never sanction a move of the kind that is now proposed. I believe that we should positively and definitely decide this question, so that we will not only have the referendum for the people at large, but so that the membership at large can vote upon important questions.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): I wish to call the delegates' attention to the fact that the members of the National Committee have already been elected by referendum vote by the different states, and that that National Committee should not be given the privilege of selecting any one but the members that have already been selected. I am in favor of the substitute offered by the delegate from Illinois. I believe it is the only practical solution of the question under discussion.

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): In Article V, Section 1, you have already defined the duties of the National Committee and you have said that it is their duty to represent the party in national and international affairs. Now, you propose to take away the right of the National Committee to elect their Executive Committee, which will represent them in national affairs to a very great extent. You do not give the National Committee any right to annul the election of the members of the Executive Committee. In other words, you create an Executive Committee that will be independent to a very large extent of the National Committee, but still you make the National Committee responsible for that Executive Committee. Now as a member of the National Committee, I protest against that business. It is not fair. If we are responsible, then give us the right to elect them and give us the right to compel them to quit if they don't do as we want them to and as they should. (Loud applause.)

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to speak for the position of the committee, and I think that the only words that need to be spoken are to be sure that the position of the committee is understood. The effort that is in hand here in this matter of the organization of the Executive Committee is simply to provide an effective machine for doing the work of the administration of the affairs of the Socialist Party. Now I want to review the three alternatives we could pass. First, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by this convention. Then immediately the committee elected by the convention is turned over to the National Committee, whose members are elected by the states. There is a further provision that members of this National Executive Committee shall be subject to removal by the members of the National Committee. Does this convention want to place the members of the National Committee in a position where, acting under the constitution, they may be called very soon to put out of office a man or a company of men elected by this convention? Do you wish to place them where they will be responsible for the actions of the Executive Committee, over whom they

have no control? The provisions of the report hold the National Committee responsible for the Executive Committee; give them the power to remove the Executive Committee, and also give them the power to create it in the first place, which seems to me just. Next, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum of the whole party. Now listen! A referendum of the membership of the party will give the fixing of this committee to those states with a large membership, because there is where the strong vote comes on a referendum to the total membership. This proposes that they shall be elected by the representatives of the various states as members of the National Committee, and gives the control of this central body to the National Committeemen as representing the several states, and again the same objection lies to the election by referendum. If the Executive Committee is to be elected by a referendum it ought to be subject to removal only by a referendum. How can you make the members of the National Committee responsible for the action of an executive body and then make that executive body only answerable in its tenure of control, to an entirely different group? The election by states is simply a renewal of the old local quorum proposition, only it has this one advantage, that the local quorum did not have: It makes it an executive committee instead of a quorum only for a larger committee. In that particular it would be an improvement, but again it creates an executive body, and then gives the control of that executive body in its power to remove from office or in its power to elect a successor when an undesirable member has been removed, not to the membership of the country, not to the representatives as coming in the National Committee, but to the group of the members within the immediate neighborhood of the headquarters of the party. Now in contradistinction to all this, this is what the committee has done: First. If you will read through the report of the committee, you will discover that in the administration of the affairs of the office the National Secretary alone is made responsible for the employment of his office help. He alone will discipline his force; he alone will employ; he alone will discharge; and he alone will be responsible to the Executive Committee. No member of the Executive Committee will have any voice in the national headquarters through any subordinate. The only way the members of the Executive Committee can reach the central office is through the recognized administrative chief of that office, but this chief is made responsible not only for his own acts but for those of the employes who are responsible to him, to this executive, and the Executive Committee in its management of affairs is in turn answerable to the whole National Committee of the country. You thus have the most complete machine for an effective administration of the central office, with no possible complications of authority in the administration of affairs. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

The question was called for.

DEL. CARR: I claim the right to speak on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, but you had the floor upon this once.

DEL. CARR: Well, under the rules I have a right to close on this subject.

A DELEGATE: What are we voting on?

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole. The Secretary will read it and then we will have a vote.

The Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Carr of Illinois as a substitute for the whole of Section 1, Article VI.

The question was put to a rising vote and the substitute declared lost, the result being 70 opposed, 47 in favor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will now vote on the last amendment that has been made, which the Secretary will read.

THE SECRETARY: The third amendment to the recommendation of the committee was offered by Delegate Thams and is as follows: "The term of office shall be for two years, but the first time three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only."

The question was then put and the amendment declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The second amendment was by Comrade Ott of

Wyoming, who moved to amend, that the members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum vote.

The question being put, the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now comes the report with the suggestion that has been offered by a delegate and accepted by the committee and the Secretary will please read the report.

DEL. HILLQUIT: "The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be elected from the membership of the party, but not more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the Executive Committee shall be one year."

The question was then put upon the adoption of the committee's report, together with the additions accepted by the committee, and the motion was carried and the section declared adopted.

DEL. ZORN (O.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. ZORN: The reason I rise is that I must state here to the convention that I have received a telegram calling me away. Our people are on a strike at Davenport, Iowa, and it is important that I be present.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, Delegate Zorn from Ohio will be excused. There is no objection, and it will be so ordered.

DEL. ZORN: In leaving the convention, I want to say that I hope the convention will do some lasting work to the everlasting benefit of the party, and when the delegates come home and we are ready to go on and work for the ticket and the movement, I promise them my most hearty support, and I know the rest of the workers down in my section will stand loyally by the party. I had the honor to introduce one resolution at a meeting of our organization relative to organizing, and that was that those who are appointed as organizers must be Socialists. I thank you. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order.

Section 2 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the National Committee expressly reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I move to amend by adding, "All expenses of such meeting to be met from the national treasury."

The motion was not seconded, and the question being put on the adoption of the section as read, was carried and the section declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I want to strike out the words, "or with the rules of the National Committee." This executive board meets every three months and the National Committee meets once in four years. The Executive Committee should not be hampered in that way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the amendment seconded?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I will second the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas has seconded the amendment.

DEL. PARKS: I wish to speak on that amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has the amendment. The Secretary will please read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment, as I understand it, offered by the delegate from Illinois, is as follows: To strike out the last clause of Section 3 of Article VI, viz: "Or with the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PARKS: Now I understood when I seconded this motion that this was the rule of procedure adopted by the National Committee for the government of itself, and not for the government of the Executive Committee. Of course, if this means that the National Committee shall have power to direct the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee I do not wish to maintain this motion before the house. I ask the chairman of the committee if that was the intention of the committee, that these rules which are referred to in this last section which we are trying to strike out now are the rules for the government of the National Committee's procedure, or whether these rules are adopted by the National Committee to govern the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT: If you refer to the rules of the National Committee, I will say that they may have provisions also for the government of the affairs of the Executive Committee. We considered the Executive Committee as the creature of the National Committee, to work under its direction.

DEL. PARKS: With that understanding I wish to withdraw my second to the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to its withdrawal? There are no objections.

The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Phelan and it was lost.

The original section was then put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

REPORTS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section 4 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): This section says, "Its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee." Does that mean the entire National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee, or what?

THE CHAIRMAN: The National Committee.

DEL. BICKETT: It seems to me that that does not cover the ground very well; there is room for considerable dissension there. We ought to know what part of the National Committee it refers to, whether any or all.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move we amend the report by striking out "revision" and inserting "referendum" in the last line, so the article would read, "and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to referendum" instead of "revision."

DEL. FLOATEN (Col.): I second the amendment.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I move to amend so that we will have another section, section 5, to read "at the request of three or more members of the National Committee, any question that may come up for action before the Executive Committee shall be put to a referendum of the National Committee." Now this would provide that only such questions on which there might be a division or a difference before the discussion arose should be taken up, and I think that would avoid the referendum in almost every instance.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I think the amendment that Comrade Kerrigan submitted will cover the ground even better than the amendment offered by the Wisconsin comrade for this reason: The Executive Committee only meets once every three months and its action will have to be subject to the National Committee, and if any of them are not satisfied with the results or proceedings of that committee they will certainly say so, and three of them can call a referendum, so it will get to a vote anyhow. We won't need anything else.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire that these words be added to Section 4 of Article VI, "and published by the Secretary."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): That matter is covered by Section 3 of Article VII.

DEL. MEYER: Not specifically, Comrade Mailly.

DEL. MAILLY: Yes, it is. Section 3 of Article VII reads, "The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins, a report on the financial af-

fairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment."

DEL. MEYER: I withdraw that amendment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I would recommend that you let the original motion stand at it is here, and at the same time accept the amendment of Comrade Seidel. The more restrictions you put around them, the better it is. The less concentration of power, the better for the party.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): The only objection to Comrade Seidel's amendment is that it is not flexible enough for the committee. Now the committee, according to the new representation that has already been decided upon, will be larger than previously. Now, then, the committee itself I believe should be left to decide the rules governing its order of procedure. You should retain the original section as submitted by the committee and then let the committee itself decide upon what manner it shall specifically pass on any action of the Executive Committee. If it is an administrative body it has the right to make its own rules, and you cannot govern its action, and so I believe the committee iself may wish to change from time to time and I believe it will be necessary to have this more flexible; it is not flexible enough.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am in favor of a referendum, but I am sick and tired of this horse play. It has been worked to death. You might just as well force the National Secretary to allow a referendum on the office boy as to attempt to take all the authority away from your National Committee in this manner. What are you going to have them for? This Executive Committee is necessary for the government of this party, because of the fact that we cannot afford to have our National Committee meet every two or three months, and so I am opposed to every amendment or proposition that is offered upon this question to defeat the recommendations of the committee.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read the last amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The last amendment offered before this convention was offered by Delegate Meyer of Illinois. Did he withdraw that?

DEL. MEYER: No.

THE SECRETARY: It is as follows: To amend Section 4 of Article VI by adding, "and published by the National Secretary."

The previous question was then called for and carried. The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Meyer and it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one by Comrade Seidel of Wisconsin, which was to add another section to be known as Section 5 of Article VI and to read as follows: "At the request of three or more members of the National Committee, any question that may come up for action before the Executive Committee shall be put to a referendum vote of the National Committee."

A vive voce vote was then taken and the result leaving the Chairman in doubt, the amendment was put to a rising vote and it was defeated; the result of the vote being as follows: 65 opposed; 51 in favor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment was to strike out the word "revision" and to substitute the word "referendum."

The question was then put and the amendment was declared lost.

The question then recurring to the original motion as reported by the committee, it was put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee asks me to present you one section omitted by oversight. It is as follows: "Between sessions of the Executive Committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded, and the question being put, it was declared adopted.

Delegate Ufert (N. J.) then called up Article 3, which had been passed at

the morning session, and upon motion it was taken from the table.

Article 3 was then read by Chairman Hillquit as follows: "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party.

The motion was made and seconded to adopt the article as read, and the question being put, it was carried and the Chair declared it adopted.

SALARY OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Delegate Hillquit of the committee then read Section 1 of Article VII, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee; his term of office shall be one year. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually."

Delegate Young of Maryland moved to amend the section by striking out the words "fifteen hundred" and substituting the words "twelve hundred," which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. YOUNG: In a resolution which has been presented to this body, and which I believe will be adopted, it is resolved that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. The National Secretary may have duties added from time to time, but at such times he has the privilege of employing more assistants. Comrades of Maryland during the hot summer as well as during the chilly winter blasts receive for their pay $1 to $1.50. The teachers of Maryland during their monotonous routine of duties receive $50 to $75 per month, with nothing to vary the monotony of their duties, no rest for their weary brains, and receive therefor the sum of three or four hundred dollars a year. From the comrades among this class the money is derived which pays the salaries of our officers, and I think $1,200 is certainly sufficient to recompense the National Secretary for the work that he does, inasmuch as the salary received by the members of the party is so much below that.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): According to the reasoning of the last speaker, if the wages were to fall to $113 a year, we should also reduce the compensation of our officers in accordance therewith. If this convention had the settling of the wages received by the workers he speaks of the chances are we would raise it above $1,200. Fifteen hundred dollars a year, Comrade Chairman and Delegates, is not too much to pay to the National Secretary of the party. The work he has to perform, the work for which he has to be fitted, is certainly worth $1,500 a year. When they tell us about the sacrifices that have to be made by the men who work for wages, it is all very true. The man who works for wages and gives something to the Socialist movement, gives of his surplus. The other man gives his time. He gives his life. I am certainly not in favor of this association establishing a lower rate of pay. Fifteen hundred dollars appears to me to be a reasonable medium between the exorbitant salaries of some of the labor fakirs and the starvation wages that some of the Socialists would like to give to the men who work for them. (Applause.) Let us not forget we have state secretaries; we have men who devote their overtime to doing the work of the party, and they do it for nothing; we have men who speak for the party, and they do it for nothing. There is a tendency on the part of some people, when they see a man get up and put in two hours on the soapbox, or sit down and do two or three hours work with a pen, to say, "Well, I know a man who does that for nothing and pays his own street-car fare, and this fellow has got a graft because he is getting pay for it." That is a foolish way of looking at it. There is another extreme, but we haven't got anywhere near it,—the extreme, of paying a man $8,000, $10,000 or $15,000 a year. We haven't got to that yet, and certainly $1,500 is not approaching it. Let us keep ourselves down to that maximum of common sense. Let us say we know well enough a man cannot become a plutocrat on $1,500 a year, but it may be that if you cut him down to where he would have to beg you will impair the efficiency of the organization.

DEL. MENTON (Mich.): I would like to say a few words on that matter. I believe that the comrade who made the motion to make it read $1,200 is right. I believe that is sufficient for our present National Secretary. If we were to increase it to $1,500 or $1,800 I

don't think there would be any proletarian business whatever about it. I want to say that in some of our States we are struggling mighty hard to build up our National organization to a strong and powerful body, and we are going along those lines at the present time through all kinds of hardship on the part of the comrades in the various states and territories. And if we go back to our various states and territories now and say that we have raised the salary of our present Secretary to $1,500, in view of this struggle in building up the organization, I believe it will hurt the organization. I am, for one, in favor of giving the National Secretary—he has a duty to perform, and, as the comrade who made the motion says, if he needs more assistance he will have power to engage help. So I am heartily in favor of the motion to give our National Secretary $1,200 annually instead of $1,500.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move that the report of the committee be amended to read as follows:

"Article VII, Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by referendum of the entire party. His term of office shall be one year. His compensation, beginning June 1, 1904, shall be $125 per calendar month. He shall be required to give bond in the sum of $5,000, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency.

"That a first assistant National Secretary be elected by the National Committee to hold office for one year at a compensation of $75 per calendar month and be required to give bond in the sum of $2,500, payable to the National Committee in case of delinquency. And his duty shall be to assist and supplement the work of the National Secretary, and be under the direction and take his instructions for his work from the National Secretary. In case of death or disability of the National Secretary, he shall fill the office until there is an election of a National Secretary by the National Committee."

The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan of Texas moves to amend by striking out the report of the Constitution Committee and inserting what he has just read.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have never been under salary from the party in my life, but I tell you this, that a salary of $1,200 in the city of Chicago is not sufficient for our present Secretary. We ought not to set a bad example, like the capitalist class, by exploiting the men that work for us. (Applause.) We are constantly complaining about exploitation, and then we are trying to make a man work for us on a dollar a day. Comrades, the pioneers of this movement, the men who are sent out organizing and working for us, ought to get the full value of their work, and that is surely a great deal more than they are getting now. We cannot pay them in the different states all they are worth, but this National party is now in a position so that it can pay $1,500. It could have paid that a year ago, and it ought to pay it now. The position of the National Secretary requires a peculiar ability—an ability which the average writer or orator does not possess. For my part, I would not want the job if you paid me double what he gets—and I could not fill it. And I do not believe there are many delegates on the floor of this convention who could fill the position. (Applause.) And I say this, although I, as a member of the Quorum have had several squabbles with William Mailly. I again ask your vote for the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I do not agree with the last speaker that the proletariat of this country should necessarily pay the men that they employ the full product of his time, because they don't get the full product of their toil. If they did they would be in shape to pay him. But they ought to be able to pay him in about the same proportion that they get for their toil, and no more. Now it seems to me that if you make this $1,500 you are as bad as the capitalists, when you propose to pay his secretary $75 a month. The difference between $75 and $125 per month is a good big difference, when the work of the two men is almost the same. In fact, I would just as soon do the work of the Secretary as that of the clerk. If anything, I should prefer the secretaryship to the clerkship, especially with the difference in the salary. And I know that I would prefer the secretaryship to the position of organizer, traveling all over the country, through the

night and any old time, hunting for your trains, at the regular salary of $3 a day—and if you worked all the day and all the night you can make $1,095 at it. Now if you propose to raise the salary of these organizers to $1,500 for 300 days' work (that is $5 a day); if you propose to pay your secretary's assistant $100 a month, then you can afford to raise the Secretary's salary to $125. But I do not believe in making such a wide distinction. The class of work of the secretary is as difficult—all Socialist work is more or less difficult, but in the present movement all over our country, there is a difficulty all the time to get money to carry on the propaganda work. Now I believe that there are any amount of competent men who will be willing to take this position for $1,200 a year—

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Lots of them.

DEL. WEBSTER: ——if the present incumbent does not want it at that. It seems to me that he accepted last year $1,000, and a $200 raise is pretty good. (Applause.) If you vote $1,500 it won't be longer than you get home until there will be a referendum started to cut him down.

DEL. KNOWLES (S. D.): I rise to oppose this motion upon two different grounds. In the first place, I am absolutely appalled by the wonderful munificence of this convention in offering a man capable of filling this office, for instance like the present incumbent, the enormous sum of $25 a week. In the next place, I am opposed to this amendment from the fact that by a referendum of this convention we have elected committees, which are the scouts of this convention. They have been deliberating upon the various questions of vital importance, not only to this convention, but to humanity. They have labored a number of days, and they have brought in their report. We have been here for four days, and what have we accomplished? If this practice is continued we will be here next week at this time. The insignificance of this movement to cut down this salary from $1,500 to $1,200! It seems to me we ought to be ashamed to offer a man capable of filling this position the sum of $25 a week. I believe that our people are able to pay for what they get, and pay a reasonable salary.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. We are not here to reduce the salary, but to increase it from $1,200 to $1,500.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The gentleman is addressing himself to the subject. Proceed.

DEL. KNOWLES: Just one word more and I am done. Let us not make ourselves a laughing stock before the world. Let us go on about our business. Let us accept this recommendation of the men that we have selected to look into these matters, and then go home about our business.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrades, it is not a question of what we should like to pay, not a question of what a man ought to receive or the value of his service, but it is what we are able to pay. It is what contributions we may ask from the members of the Socialist Party to make up the amount we shall pay the man selected for this position, without any particular hardship upon the contributors. The ordinary worker in the coal mines of this country does not receive more than about one-fourth of the proposed sum. The worker in the metal mines of the west, when you consider the reduction for idle time, does not receive more than about half of that sum and I want to say to you that his work is more arduous and more dangerous than that of the secretary of this body (applause), though it may not call for that particular ability. But I believe that there is something in the Socialist philosophy about the fellow to whom nature has been unkind, that it pays him just as much as the man who is endowed with the highest gifts of nature. I do not believe we can well afford to pay more than the $1,200. Therefore, I am in favor of that amendment.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrade Chairman and comrades, I hope that I shall be able to go back and report to the proletariat of the state of Washington that this convention has done everything in their interest, but I shall not be able to do that if you pass this resolution. We pay our state secretary $40 a month, and other men are working for $5 a week for the organization in the state of Washington. The best men are not the highest-priced men, in the Socialist movement, but the best men are those that are willing to work for no price. (Applause.) I know there is

a strong sentiment throughout the state of Washington—and, remember, comrades, that we have in the State of Washington had no assistance from the National organization of the party to this day, and we have the largest dues-paying membership with respect to the population of any State in the Union. We should have eleven delegates on this floor to-day, if we could have afforded to send them here. Only one could that organization pay for. Now, then, if I have to go back and tell the working men, as their representative on the floor of this convention, that you have advanced the salary, just as the labor unions are doing for their fakirs constantly when they get the chance,—if I have to go back and say that we have advanced the salary $500 at a lump when we are still trying to better the working class, I shall discredit the National organization, or it will be discredited, in the eyes of the working class of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. I ask you to be true to the proletarian instincts of this convention up to this minute, and to give the $1,200 instead of the $1,500 salary.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): A great deal has been said about placing the office of National Secretary on a par with the wages of the working class. I believe that one particular mistake has been made in the argument, and I don't care to occupy much time. I believe that among the working classes that are working for organizations that exploit them for their wages there are very few instances in which the position required of our National Secretary where they do not get as much pay or more pay for filling the same sort of position. That is the point I make. I know very well that the average wages in the country, according to the reports of the capitalists' parties themselves, amount to about $480 a year. That is all it amounts to, according to the Census Bulletin. But I do not believe there are many positions requiring the executive ability and skill to fill that our position of National Secretary requires that under capitalists are not getting much more than $1,500. You have passed a referendum fixing the National headquarters in Chicago, and you know that living in Chicago is entirely different from living in some of our little villages. The expenses of car fare and living expenses generally are higher than they would be in some of our little places where we might have the National Committee. I know very well if the National Secretary was placed on a par with some of our soap-box orators he would not even get that; I understand that, but I want to say that for whoever fills the position of secretary $1,500 is not a dollar too much. It would be a discredit to us to pay any less than that amount, in my judgment.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I am in favor of $1,500 because I want to see a man get a reasonably fair salary for the place in which he lives; $1,500 is none too much for the National Secretary, living in the city of Chicago. No matter whether I could do it or not, I wouldn't attempt it, and there is mighty few of my colleagues along this table would do the work at that price. Further, one of the comrades spoke of what we can pay. It is not that. The point seems to me to be, how much can we exploit the man? We paid $1,000 when we only had 1,000 members. Now we have 23,000 members, and they don't want to raise the salary.

The previous question was here called for, but Delegate Mailly secured the recognition from the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will violate the rules. If there is no objection we will hear from Delegate Mailly. Is there any objection?

Several Delegates objected from different parts of the hall and the chair continued:

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been ordered.

DEL. MAILLY: I know it.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will take your seat, please. Shall the previous question be now put? All in favor of the previous question being put at this time will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". The "noes" seem to have it, and they have it. Delegate Mailly has the floor.

DEL. MAILLY: Mr. Chairman, I want to say, first of all, to the convention, that everybody seems a great deal more interested in this question than I am. I am very sorry to see a tendency on the part of the delegates to degrade the position of National Secretary to a material basis, to a question of how much it is worth in so much

money. Now, the position of National Secretary is worth nothing to me in terms of money. (Applause.) I did not accept it because the salary was $1,000. I was getting more than that when I was elected. I am perfectly satisfied with the decision of this convention in any way. I do not hold the position because I get $1,000 a year, and I would not decline it because you reduced the salary, nor would I seek it because you increased the salary. That is the way I stand upon the question. You can do what you please, but don't degrade the position to the point of talking about a man getting so much money for serving you. That is what I object to. While I am on the floor I want to say this to the comrades who have talked here about the hard work for the movement: Those who have known me in the movement know that I never stopped at material considerations. I would not say this if I did not believe that there might be an attempt to put a material construction upon my retaining my position, but those who have been acquainted in the Socialist movement everywhere I have been know that I never took any material point into consideration when performing my duty for the party. That course I shall continue to pursue until the end. That is all I have to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chairman of the Committee will be heard now.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to explain briefly the reasons why the committee fixed that amount. I am sorry that the matter has taken a personal trend at all. The Committee did not have the present incumbent in view. I was at fault. If it had been a question of the present incumbent, if we had security that the present incumbent would remain in office until the next National convention, we probably would not have broached the subject. But the point of the matter is, we are by no means certain that the present National Secretary would retain his office for the next four years. I say, on the contrary, we have good reason to believe that he is kept there now against his will. Then the question arises, if we have got to go outside and get a comrade and bring him to the city of Chicago to live and intrust him with the most delicate position the party has to offer—the management of the party affairs, of the affairs of a party now numbering 23,000 members, which perhaps within a year or two will number 30,000 or 40,000; a party management that has branched out into ten different details now and is being branched more and more,—if we place that man in a position, not only of the superintending of great works or something like it, but require of him tact, skill and knowledge; if we require of him qualifications that are hardly required in one out of ten salaried positions, where will you get the man for it, if you want to pay only a starvation wage? Now, we are told here, "Why, a hod-carrier works harder, the miner works harder, and they get only $3.00 a day." Now, delegates, I will say right now, I am opposed to cheap, democratic buncombe. We are not going to hire a hod-carrier now, nor are we going to hire a miner. I regret that the miner has not as much honor as a National Secretary, or as any secretary, perhaps, in the cabinet of the United States, but the fact is that we can get plenty of hod-carriers and plenty of miners. But if we can get a man to answer all the requirements we have put upon our National Secretary, a man who will assume the duties of the National Secretary and discharge them faithfully and skillfully, and for $25 or $30 a week, that is barely enough to live on more or less decently; more or less, and more less than otherwise. I say he will then be sacrificing for the benefit of the cause. I am opposed to extravagant salaries. I am opposed to high salaries with all my soul, because they may have a tendency to attract to our movement people who are out for salaries. But will any of you maintain that a salary of $30 per week will attract that high class of talent required by you in that position in the National office? I say as long as we have our present incumbent in office it does not matter. You may decrease his present salary, and as long as he can remain in the office he will, but the moment you have to look for another man, and the class of men you have to look for, it is merely a question of to what extent he is ready to sacrifice. And you won't find anyone who will be ready to sacrifice that much. You will cut off the possibility of going to a number of qualified comrades and asking them to take the position, for it will be too much of a sacrifice demanded of them, and most likely you

will cut out most of those who are capable of serving in the position. The party can now easily afford to pay a man $1,500 a year. It is not a matter of violation of principle, for we do not stand on the principle of exploitation. If Comrade Titus says they pay only $10 a week over in Washington, I have to say that only abject poverty in Washington excuses such an outrage. Do you think a man with a family to depend on him can subsist on that? When you give him arduous work and pay him $10 a week you are doing just exactly what the capitalist is doing, against whom we are protesting. The State of Washington may have an excuse in its poverty. Our party has no such excuse. And again, in conclusion, I desire to emphasize that there is absolutely no personal element in the case, but just because we know that we may sooner or later have to look for another man for the position we want to provide so that we may be able to get the proper man for the proper place. (Applause.)

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Comrades, the question before this convention is an important one. The proposition made by the report of the Committee on Constitution amounts to this: That I shall go out among people who do not on the average receive for their entire year's living and the support of their family one-fourth of the salary proposed, and that I shall collect from them their little driblets from that small income to make up what I, a farmer, consider a very big salary. For I assure you that using the farm as I do, with the labor of two women and three men, I cannot get off of that farm $1,500 a year gross. It is too much. I cannot ask those men to pay that sort of salary. Now, then, we are told that it requires ability of a high order. I agree with that proposition, but I am pleased also to believe that there are dozens of members creditably and well able to keep everything up-to-date and in good order, who are working to-day for $40 and $50 a month. I believe that, and, believing it, I favor the amendment and am opposed to the report.

Delegate Brandt of Missouri secured the floor, but before recognizing him the Chair said:

THE CHAIRMAN: I was just going to remind the Delegates that we have put in fifty-five minutes on this subject of how much we shall pay the Secretary. I trust the Delegates will bear in mind that there is some limit to the amount of time we can devote to a subject of this kind.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I am not going to take up much of your time. I am only going to say this: I am really sorry to have heard in this convention the bitter personalities, you might call them, that have been injected into the debate upon this question. The matter of whether the salary should be raised to $1,500, or whether it should be $1,200, will be settled in a few minutes, but before it is settled, or even after, I would certainly like to have Comrade Titus answer a question, and that question is this: What did he mean when he said, "Don't do like the labor unions are doing about their fakirs"?

DEL. TITUS: May I answer that now?

DEL. BRANDT: Never mind; you can answer it any time. What are the people in the trades union movement of this whole country—and I see a number of them who have been leading spirits in their trades-union movement for years and years, and I don't see any of them, nor never have seen any of them, living on fat salaries. Perhaps some of them have a smaller and cheaper salary than the gentleman himself. And in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to say an expression of that kind is born out of hatred, or from lack of conception of the labor movement or the Socialist movement.

At this point the previous question was moved and seconded, and Delegate Titus asked the floor for a question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved and it rests with this body whether you gentlemen shall be heard or whether this question shall be put. All in favor of the previous question will say "Aye"; contrary, "No". The previous question is carried. The subject is now open for discussion by two delegates, one for and one against. I recognize Delegate Spargo. Which side?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire to speak in favor of the motion that the salary be $1,500 a year.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have three minutes to speak upon that subject.

A DELEGATE: I want to speak against the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you get the floor you can tell me what you want—not now. Delegate Spargo has the floor, and none other.

DEL. SPARGO: I am as much opposed to extravagant salaries as any member here, and I am as much opposed to "sweating" by the Socialist Party as by the capitalistic employer. I do not believe that $1,500 a year for the support of a man with a wife and family is more than enough to obtain a decent standard of living in Chicago, New York, or any other city in the United States of America. I hear objections raised on the ground that $40 is the standard paid by the State of Washington. That is not sufficient for a man to maintain himself and family as he ought to, and if you pay that standard or anything like it to your National Secretary, unless the National Secretary's wife will take in washing to supplement the income we will very soon have to go out of business altogether. We have no right to protest against the exploitation of workers by others and then exploit ourselves, when we can afford to maintain them in comfort. (Applause.)

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I wish to speak in favor of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The main question before us is the Committee's report and the various amendments thereto. The last gentleman who spoke has spoken in favor of the original report and against the amendment.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I am speaking in favor of the amendment.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I have a question of personal privilege——

THE CHAIRMAN: When this matter is disposed of we will recognize you to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Delegate will please take his seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will be recognized in due form. You will please take your seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I will not. I rise to a point of order——

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus——

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. You shall not shut me down. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. Until I state my point of order, I won't sit down.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus that his question of personal privilege will be in order at any time, without any respect whatsoever to this question that is now before us. But I will not permit, under the guise of a question of personal privilege, any further remarks on this question by him as long as others who have not spoken desire to speak in accordance with the rules. So no question of personal privilege will be heard, and at this time nothing will be heard but the other delegate, and that delegate must take the opposite side from that of the speaker who preceded him.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

DEL. TOOLE: According to the rulings of the previous Chairman, the one who makes the motion has the closing remarks, and according to that my colleague from Maryland has a right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: The Chair decided so yesterday, and I ask the Secretary to look it up.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. All day yesterday the Chair decided on questions like this, that when two came to speak at the end of a resolution like this, where the previous question was asked, that the one who made the motion had the right to do so, and so all through this convention since we changed the rule that has been the custom, and I believe that the Secretary will so find it in his record. According to that, my colleague from Maryland has the right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not determined in my rulings by what the Chairman did yesterday. The Chairman did a great many things yesterday

that I would not be guilty of doing, and I dare say I do many things he would not be guilty of doing. But I am interpreting the law as I understand the law, and he interpreted the law as he understood it. Every delegate, in so far as it is possible, shall be heard. The delegate from Maryland has been heard —and is frequently heard. (Laughter.) The delegate from Pennsylvania has not been heard.

At this point Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair and put the vote to the convention on the question of the appeal by Delegate Toole from the decision of the Chair. The Chair was sustained in its decision by an almost unanimous vote.

Delegate Sieverman thereupon resumed the Chair as presiding officer.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I am not in favor of exploiting any man in this party, and that is the reason why I am in favor of the amendment. Under the present system we have never taken into consideration what is needed to bring up or maintain a family. We say that a man who is digging a ditch is not worth the same as a man doing some other kind of work. The man receiving $1.50 does not have to live the same as a man who receives $5.00 or $10.00. The reason I object to $1,500 is because we are not in a position to pay the Assistant Secretary the same amount. I claim that if it takes $1,500 to support Comrade Mailly's family in Chicago it will cost Comrade Oneal or Comrade Barnes or any other Comrade $1,500 to live in the city of Chicago. (Applause.) I claim that I have just as much right to bring up my family as any other man, and to bring it up in the same way as another man I must receive the same compensation. I remember the time when the same arguments were brought forth on the floor of our labor convention, asking for a raise of wages to the President of our labor union, on the plea that we did not want to do what the capitalist class was doing; and after we raised the salary of our treasurer and leader the very men whose salary had been raised were objecting to raising other salaries. I am not in favor of raising salaries on any plea of that kind. I am in favor of paying any man whom this party employs the same rate of wages, no matter who he is.

At this point Delegate Mailly arose and the Chair stated:

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot be heard, Comrade Mailly. Nothing is in order but the question of the substitute motion.

DEL. MAILLY: On a question of personal information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal information.

DEL. MAILLY: A point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only point of information—the only information you can get is from the Secretary. Delegate Mailly will please take his seat, and the Secretary will read the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: Comrades, the matter that you have before you is not the motion to adopt the report of the Committee, but the substitute motion offered by Delegate Kerrigan of Texas, to amend Section 1 of Article VI. The Secretary then read Delegate Kerrigan's substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the adoption of the substitute will manifest it by saying "Aye".

DEL. MAILLY: Before that action is taken, I must request from this convention——

THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order. We will have order, please.

DEL. MAILLY: A question of information from the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to say this, Comrade Mailly, and to all who rise, that the Chair is not disposed to arbitrarily deny anyone his rights, but we have uniformly enforced this rule today, and unless it is the unanimous desire of the convention to grant the express privilege of the floor to Delegate Mailly he will not be recognized. Is there any objection to Delegate Mailly being heard?

A DELEGATE: I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mailly cannot be heard. All in favor of the substitute being adopted will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". It is defeated. The Secretary will read the amendment to the original motion.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment to the original motion, as offered by Delegate Young of Maryland, is as follows: "I move to amend by striking out the words '1500' and inserting the words '1200'."

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of adopting the amendment will manifest the same by saying "Aye"; contrary, "No". The Chair is in doubt.

A division being called for, a standing vote was taken upon the amendment offered by Delegate Young, and the same was lost by a vote of 74 against to 65 in favor of the amendment.

Thereupon, the question recurring upon the original motion, Section 1 of Article VII was adopted as reported by the Committee.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I hoped that when I asked the privilege of the floor that it would be granted without objection, but there is a delegate in front of me who has steadily opposed every attempt of mine to make an explanation to the Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mailly has the floor, and he will not be interrupted.

DEL. MAILLY: This is my question of personal privilege, and this is what I wanted to say before the vote was taken, Mr. Chairman: For some time I have had under consideration a proposition which would take me out of the national office, and would not require me to retain the position of National Secretary. I have consulted with my most intimate friends upon the proposition. It is a position which offers in every way a more agreeable work than the position of National Secretary. My friends have counseled me in the interests of the party to remain in this position, but after the debate here this afternoon I should feel that I would be lacking in self-respect, after the remarks that have been made on this floor, if I accepted your increased salary and retained the position. I want to say that at the conclusion of this convention I shall accept the proposition made to me for other work in the movement. I have consulted with my wife, and she is perfectly in accord with the program, and I shall before the close of the convention offer my resignation as National Secretary. I want to say here, and I wanted to state this before, I believe in the fifteen hundred dollar salary. I believe that you cannot afford to keep your national officers, whether assistants or general officers, in the position that you have. If you employ men and expect them to give their time and their ability to your service, you must expect to remunerate them in a way that will enable them to live decently. (Applause.) That is my position. As one who will go out of office, I am speaking for my successor, whoever he may be. I want my successor to be able to live better than I have, or than my assistant secretaries have in this office. I intended to say this before the vote was taken, and that was why I asked for the question of personal privilege—so that the vote could be taken on the question of the fifteen hundred salary and the delegates could vote without having my personal self in mind, and could vote according to the principle which is at stake—which was at stake in the vote that was taken. It is a question of principle—not of me; not of John Smith, who may succeed me, nor of John Brown. It is a question of whether you are going to have men who can do your work, and whether you are going to pay them so they can keep in physical and mental condition to do the work. You want to put your officials in a position where they will be able to give themselves to the movement; where they will be free from economic worry and economic care; where they won't be wondering whether they can pay the butcher's bill, or the house rent, or the insurance, or anything of the kind. That is what you have got to protect yourselves against. You have got to enable your officials to live decently. That is all I have to say. I did not vote on the proposition, because it would be taken personally. If I had been allowed to make this statement before the vote was taken I would have voted for the $1,500 a year, although I have had absolutely nothing to do with that proposition being in the Constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Titus will be permitted to make an explanation here. The question has been asked of me, and I want to say that personal privileges are going to be laid on the table for a little while.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, first I protest against the insinuation of the Chair that I wished to take advantage of personal privilege to make a speech which I had no right to make. The Chair had no right to make that insinuation against a delegate on the floor. In the second place, I wish to

answer two questions asked by the comrade from St. Louis, with respect to the high salaries paid to labor fakirs. I did not suppose there was a labor fakir on this floor. (Applause.) In the third place, I wish to say, as a matter of personal privilege, that any suggestion that I was talking against William Mailly is furthest possible from the truth. There is no man on the floor who regards William Mailly with higher friendship, respect and loyalty, than the delegate from Washington. (Applause.) William Mailly knows that, and I regret that we were not allowed by the Chair in a parliamentary way to make these answers of personal privilege before the vote was taken. We might, except for that ruling, have changed the decision of Comrade Mailly in reference to his resignation, which has just been presented. It is a misfortune to the party if William Mailly should resign. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before this incident is closed I want to say for the information of the delegates that so long as I am Chairman I shall enforce parliamentary procedure in conformance to the rules of order that we have adopted—and that method will be pursued without the slightest regard to whom it strikes and whom it does not. I do not need to say to you that I have listened to the speeches in which the personality of our National Secretary has been discussed with a great deal more disfavor and disgust than perhaps any other delegate on the floor. There is not a sincerer friend, a better well-wisher, of our self-sacrificing Secretary than your humble servant who sits in the Chair. But he does not sit in the Chair as a friend and well-wisher of Secretary Mailly. He sits to enforce rules of order, and he will recognize no friend for any reason while he occupies this seat. I recognize that it would be a calamity for Secretary Mailly to be permitted to carry out his intention, and there are men sitting on this floor that owe him and this convention an apology for daring to insinuate that he is on the low level of a salary-seeking labor fakir. (Cheers.) Secretary Mailly is not called upon to resign because of anything the Chair did. Secretary Mailly was called upon to do what he has done or intends doing because his self-respect makes it necessary. What is the next subject before the house?

Chairman Hillquit read Article VII, Section 2, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall have charge of all the affairs of the National office, subject to the direction of the Executive Committee and National Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the Lecture Bureau, the Literature Bureau, and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office."

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved the adoption of the section. Seconded and carried.

The third section was read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall issue and deliver a monthly bulletin containing a report of the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations, and of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and interests of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletin shall not contain any editorial matter."

On motion duly seconded the section was adopted.

Section 4 was read as follows:

"The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper conduct of the business of his office."

Delegate Benessi (Mich.) moved that the section be adopted. Seconded.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio) I move to amend by adding "whose salaries shall not be less than $120 a month." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee desires to know whether this would include the office boy, stenographer, stenographer's assistant and everybody else. (Laughter.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I answer, yes, if they have equal intelligence and ability and do equal work for the party. The delegate does not intend it seriously, but in jest. He com-

pares the office of assistant secretary and the salary with the salary of the Secretary himself. I can inform the delegates that the Secretary has incidental expenses which an assistant does not have. I can speak from personal experience, because I myself was a year National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, so-called, once. They paid the Secretary $1,000 a year when we had five or six thousand members only. The Secretary has incidental expenses that he cannot present bills for to the party. You know a secretary that lives in a city like Chicago or in a smaller one finds it necessary to meet visiting comrades from other cities, and must necessarily incur expenses which may aggregate hundreds of dollars a year, which an assistant secretary does not have to incur. This is in answer to the argument of Comrade Webster, made in good faith, "Why shouldn't the assistant secretary have the same salary?" That is my answer. Delegate Webster's position that the office boys and stenographers and perhaps the woman that cleans the office should have the same salary as the National Secretary, shows that it is not a bona fide position that he has taken.

Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved to lay the amendment on the table. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is upon the table, and the motion now before us is the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WEBSTER: I want to amend that motion so that the first assistant shall be paid $120, the second assistant shall be paid $120, the third assistant shall be paid $100, the stenographer shall be paid $75 a month. If an office boy is hired and he is over sixteen years old he shall be paid $75 a month, and if he is under sixteen he shall be paid $40 a month."

Delegate Hazlett (Colo.) moved to lay the amendment on the table. Seconded and carried. The recommendation of the committee was then carried and the section adopted.

The 5th section was read, as follows:

"The National Secretary and the members of the Executive Committee may be removed from office at any time by majority vote of the members of the National Committee."

Adopted.

A NATIONAL LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hillquit read Article VIII, as follows:

"Lecture Bureau. Section 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers on theoretical Socialism."

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A question of information. We have just done something that I don't understand, and I don't think anybody else does.

THE CHAIRMAN: If we have just done it it is beyond the point where you can get any information upon it. You have had the committee's report before you all afternoon, and could have asked before putting the motion. It is now too late to make any suggestion upon it. There is nothing in order but the adoption or rejection of the last clause.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I move the adoption of the clause as read. Seconded.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I want to know what is meant by the words "theoretical Socialism." I do not understand it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Woodbey inquires of the committee what they mean or what construction is to be placed upon the term "theoretical Socialism."

DEL. HILLQUIT: You heard that section. I will illustrate the idea a little more. The idea is that lecturers engaged under the auspices of the Lecture Bureau shall not discuss party affairs in the various locals or states where they lecture, but they shall confine themselves to an exposition of Socialism, without regard to party affairs.

DEL. WOODBEY: The term "theoretical" is what I mean.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): In distinction from tactical Socialism.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berlyn suggests "in distinction from tactical Socialism."

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I find that it is impossible for any lecturer to go out on the road and preach theoretical Socialism only. You cannot confine a comrade to theoretical Socialism. When he gets up in a local meeting or public meeting and addresses an audience questions will be asked and questions will be raised, and you cannot stand there as a lecturer of the Socialist Party

and say, "I have no right to speak on practical Socialism; I am only a lecturer on theoretical Socialism." I believe it is childish to put anything of this kind into our constitution. (Applause.) I, therefore, move that this portion be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which part do you mean to be stricken out?

DEL. ROSE: I move that the words "theoretical" and "only" be stricken out.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Will the chairman inform us what the committee means by "theoretical only"?

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee would have preferred to do away with "theoretical only." It was anxious to emphasize the fact that it was not proposed to carry on organization matters or discussions by means of lecturers from national headquarters, and that is why we inserted those words, to emphasize the idea, but we thought ourselves it would be better without the words.

DEL. BERGER: I move as an amendment to the amendment to put the words "educational" or "education." I want it understood that lecturers are not to go out and talk about this, that or the other party affair. We do not want a repetition of the old DeLeon affair. We will have it if you give lecturers the power to go into the states and use the power they have before the branches for the purpose of disrupting the party. Such a thing is possible; it has been done in the past. So I want a word of this kind in there. Besides, if we do not put it in, we are in conflict with another passage of this constitution which states that the state has the exclusive power and exclusive control over propaganda work in every organized state. I would like to have it read in there "lecturers for propaganda only," or something of that kind; or "educational Socialism," or "for the purpose of education only," or "propaganda lectures"—anything of that kind. I will make it "propaganda lectures," if that is the best.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand Delegate Berger to make an amendment to the amendment?

DEL. BERGER. Yes.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): May I have the privilege of asking Comrade Berger to accept a little different wording of that provision?

DEL. BERGER: Yes.

DEL. DILNO: Couldn't that difficulty be obviated by simplfying this in this way: Say "a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging propaganda tours for lecturers on Socialism."

DEL. BERGER: I am satisfied with that.

DEL. DILNO: Insert "propaganda" there instead of "educational."

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I move that this clause be amended to read that "there shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism." (Applause.) Seconded.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): If you will refer to Article VII, you will note in Section 4, "States and territories in which there shall be one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole control of members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda or organization or financial affairs within the state or territory." Now, then, if you adopt Comrade Spears' amendment you immediately have this proposition presented: you deprive the state of its autonomy in regard to organization and propaganda. In other words, that autonomy is surrendered to the National Quorum or national organization, and the state loses its power to govern itself. For that reason I am opposed to a substitute that uses the word "propaganda," which in substance would leave the question divided as to whether you have state autonomy or not on the question of propaganda.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Will you permit an explanation, Comrade Stedman? If you will just read that same section you will find in the last three lines, "The National Committee or the officers thereof shall have no right to interfere with state autonomy," we will say in such matters, "without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

DEL. STEDMAN: The amendment as originally drawn and submitted by the committee is perfectly consistent, but

the moment you take the substitute you have a different proposition.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Section 2, Article VIII, provides that this can only be done under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party, and arrangements must be made with them for lecturers.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the substitute.

The Secretary read: "There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism."

The Chairman put the question on the substitute as just read by the secretary, and declared the result in doubt.

Delegate Phelan asked that the substitute be read again, which was done, and the question being put on a rising vote, the substitute was adopted by a vote of 88 to 21.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Representing three members of the committee, I wish to move as a substitute for all that is before the house that the clause shall stand as it is, with the words "Socialism only" stricken out and the following added——

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a moment. In order to have that matter straight and adopted you will have to move to reconsider. We have just adopted the substitute for the whole offered by Delegate Spears. The Secretary will proceed.

JURISDICTION OF LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hillquit read as follows:

"The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization. It shall have the right to make arrangements for lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

Delegate Berger moved to amend by striking out the words "or local" before "organizations."

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I would like to have some interpretation of the language, "The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization." Am I to understand that if this is adopted that hereafter we shall not be allowed to organize? Is that the meaning of it?

DEL. HILLQUIT: No, the substitute as carried was that for lecturers delivering lectures on Socialism or the propaganda of Socialism under the auspices of this bureau arrangements may be made primarily with local organizations. That has been followed, that was the rule adopted by the first National Committee meeting, and ratified by the referendum of the party and now in force. But when you come to organize you don't come under the auspices of this bureau. You come under the auspices of the national office generally, and it then requires the consent of the state organization to allow you to go into a state to organize it.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I would like to ask the comrade who moved the striking out of the word "local" in case that word is stricken out, what will become of such states as Mississippi that have no state organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Delegate Berger capable of answering that question?

DEL. BERGER: I will state that there are organized states like New York and Massachusetts and there are states that are not organized, but those states ought to get in line and perfect their organization. We want to hold on to the committee; it is our only salvation. We want the states to be organized and as long as our organization rests upon 31 different pillars instead of resting on one, we are all right. Now in answer to the comrade's question, this will not in any way interfere with making arrangements with local organizations in such states as are not organized. There is a provision for it in Article XII.

DEL. WEAVER (Cal.): I think it is unnecessary. I think later on in the constitution it provides for this, and if this amendment were carried it would prevent the national organization from making any arrangements with the locals, even if the state allows it, and it would also prevent them from making arrangements in unorganized states. Therefore, I think it is entirely unnecessary.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I want to know whether it will prevent a local organization from making arrangements at any time with any speaker to speak before a local.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is any one qualified to answer that question?

DEL. WOODBEY: Or will the local

organization employ only such persons to address them at any time as are recommended by the bureau? Our local organization, for instance, in San Diego, where I live, has a speaker who is in good standing in the party and who maintains his standing in the party. Now I want to know if we can invite that speaker to address us without the consent of the state or national organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would advise you to see the chairman of the committee on Constitution. That is all the information I can give you. I want to say further that the sources of information open to the Chair are open to every delegate here and that you will have to depend for your information upon your own resources.

DEL. MEYER: I ask for a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal privilege in order. Nothing is in order but a point of order.

DEL. MEYER: Then I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. MEYER: I desire to call attention to the fact that various discussions are going on in the rear of the hall and it is impossible to hear the delegate who has the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: That point of order is well taken. The sergeant-at-arms will please keep order in the rear of the hall. Now, Delegate Woodbey, proceed.

DEL. WOODBEY: I want to say that if the effect of this measure now proposed to be put into the constitution is to take away the liberty of the local organization, without the consent of the state organization or national organization, to invite a speaker that may be reputable in the party to come before them and address them, then I think it is a very dangerous precedent to establish, and I undertake to say that if that thing is carried through you can never enforce that with the local organizations. Why, the local organizations in our state could not employ their own speakers under an arrangement of that kind without first asking the state secretary as to whether they could do it, and I tell you that you may pass that if you please, but the locals of this country will pay no attention to it whatsoever. They will employ such speakers as they usually employ, and I think that is proper. Now mark you, remember this, when this constitution goes to the locals and the several state organizations, they will put their own construction on it, notwithstanding what construction the committee that drew it put upon it and notwithstanding what construction we may put upon it. If I understand the wording of this section, a local could not employ a man to speak before them unless they have the consent of the state organization, and I do not think that we could enforce such a rule.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I will say that we have no right to dictate as to whom the various locals shall employ to address them. Therefore, I am heartily in favor, if a local wants a lecturer, of allowing them to have whom they choose. Why, suppose a local or a state organization is opposed to a certain speaker and, therefore, the local did not want that speaker. Why, the national lecture bureau could send them that fellow and they would have to take him. Now I do not think that that is right and, therefore, I am opposed to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to remind you now before we go any further that when we have disposed of this recommendation of the committee we will have done just one-half, we will have passed upon just one-half of the Committee on Constitution's work. Now, if we are going to get through we will have to have fewer speeches and more work. We will have to do something. (Loud applause.)

The previous question was moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before you, Comrades, is the motion to strike out the word "local" from Sections 2 of Article VIII.

The question was then put on the amendment and is was declared lost by the Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Division has been called for. All in favor of striking out the word "local" will rise and be counted by the Secretary. The amendment is defeated. The Secretary will please read the next. Before having him read it, however, the question comes up

on the adoption of the committee's report as it stands.

The adoption of Section 2 of Article 8 was then put to a vive voce vote and carried.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of personal privilege, Comrade Chairman: I wasn't ready for the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry.

DEL. MEYER: I called your attention to the fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed.

Section 3 of Article 8 was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move you the word "uniform" be stricken out and the words "maximum and minimum" rate be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I move to amend by striking out the words "maximum and minimum."

THE CHAIRMAN: Such an amendment is not admissible, because it nullifies Comrade Jacobsen's amendment.

The question was called for and Delegate Jacobsen's amendment being put to a vive voce vote, was declared lost.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the section as reported by the committee it was declared adopted.

A NATIONAL LITERATURE BUREAU.

Section 1 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to amend that section by adding the following: "Pamphlets and special propaganda literature, other than books, shall be printed in all the languages in use in the United States."

THE CHAIRMAN: Allow me to inform the delegate before proceeding any further that that matter is more fully covered in section 2, and I would, therefore, suggest that your amendment would be more appropriate under that section.

DEL. MEYER: All right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment will stay on the Secretary's table until we come to section 2.

A vive voce vote was then taken on the motion to adopt Section 1 of Article 9 as read, and the motion was carried.

Section 2 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others, a stock of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right with the approval of the committee, to publish works on theoretical Socialism or for the progress of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodicals."

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded to adopt the section as read, and I will ask Comrade Meyer if he presses his amendment to this section?

DEL. MEYER: I do.

DEL. IRENE M. SMITH (Ore.): Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike out the word "theoretical."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MEYER: I desire to state that I introduced this amendment because I have had some considerable experience as a secretary of counties and find that it is desirous to have this literature in different languages, and, therefore, I think it is necessary that the national party in printing national literature in the form of pamphlets and so forth, furnish literature in the various languages, in as many languages as are used by the comrades supporting the Socialist Party in the United States, and that is the reason I introduced the amendment here.

The question was called for.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I wish to amend by striking out the authority to publish works on theoretical Socialism and have it read simply that authority be given simply to publish propaganda pamphlets.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): The amendment to the amendment, I think, covers all grounds. Possibly Comrade Meyer will accept it.

DEL. MEYER: I accept that.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire merely to save the convention some work in the future. Section 2 as it is drawn now is broad enough to embrace the publication of literature in any or all languages, and if literature is required in any language but English the party and the literature bureau has the right, I think, to publish the same under this section without any special provision by way of its being amended.

The question was again called for.

DEL. SPEARS: The reason we want that in is because we want it mandatory so they will have to do it.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I say we do not want this thing here so they will have to publish it in every language in which we have got comrades. We do not want this to read so that by a strict interpretation of the section we may be forced to publish these pamphlets in all languages. I say we do not want that.

(Cries of "Question!")

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): I want to say to the mover of the amendment that the United States language is good enough for me. I do not see any necessity for publishing these pamphlets in all the different languages we have here in the United States.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I hope the amendment will be accepted and I hope the literature will be published in all foreign languages. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of literature printed on the other side of the water, but it is not fitted for propaganda purposes in this country because it does not bear on the situation in this country, and we ought to have printed in the various languages something that would bear on conditions here, and distribute that among our comrades from the other side.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Is the literature bureau a set of persons, or is it an activity of the National Executive Committee? The second section reads that the literature bureau shall have the right with the approval of the committee. Who is it that has the right, and to whom shall the committee give its approval?

DEL. HILLQUIT: The point of the matter is that we have provided for the National Committee maintaining in connection with the headquarters a literature bureau, and further provided that it may publish with the approval of the committee works on Socialism for propaganda. In other words, it will be one of the departments of the national office, in charge, no doubt, of some assistant secretary who is to run it, but no publication shall be undertaken without the consent of the Executive Committee.

DEL. WILSON: I wish to say that there is no provision in this section for the nomination of such a person, or for the appointment of such a person.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The section provides for the keeping of a stock of all kinds of literature. I trust that the delegates will trust to the common sense of the Executive Committee, or National Secretary or assistant secretary. The National Committee will supervise this matter. They know about what is happening, and so I say, let us have a little confidence in the national office and get down to business. (Applause.)

The previous question was moved.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the amendment moved by Comrade Meyers and seconded by Comrade Spears be laid upon the table.

The question was put and the amendment tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the amendment offered by Delegate Smith from Oregon.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment as offered by Delegate Smith of Oregon is as follows: To strike out the word "theoretical" in Section 2 of Article IX.

The question was then put on the amendment and it was declared carried.

The question then returning to the adoption of the section as amended, a vive voce vote was taken, and it was declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article IX was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The profits of the literature bureau shall go into the general fund of the party treasury."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I move to amend that that section be tabled.

The motion was seconded and the question being put, the motion was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before us now is the adoption of the committee's report.

Section 3 of Article IX as read was then put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 1 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held."

Upon motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted as read.

Section 2 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership."

Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted as read.

Section 3 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee."

Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

Section 4, Article X, was read as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing."

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one thousand."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion and it has been seconded. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have another amendment I wish to offer. I wish to amend by adding to Section 4 at the end of the section, the following: "But in every case the delegate shall be a resident of the state which he or she represents." We have delegates right on the floor of this convention who are not delegates of the state which they represent.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I would like to state for the benefit of Comrade Berger that the committee has decideded it advisable to add the following to this section:

"Provided, however, that no candidate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the provision recommended by the committee will be embodied in the report. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I wish to offer an amendment, not to any particular section, but to the article as a whole. This amendment is somewhat material to all of section 4, therefore, I would ask permission to present it.

THE CHAIRMAN: If it is germane to the question under consideration we will listen to it.

DEL. GIBBS: I move as an amendment to the whole article, a new section, which shall read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for payment of expenses of the delegates in attending the National Convention." I move that as an amendment for Article X.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me that we perhaps had best dispose of the matters before us first, and then take up your proposition as a separate section or an addition to this matter.

DEL GIBBS: I will accept the Chair's suggestion if the comrades understand that it comes up later on.

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I move to amend the amendment by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

We are represented here on the basis of one hundred, and if we should have been represented on the basis of two hundred, we would have had considerably less present. If it had been upon the basis of one thousand, some of the states would not have had any delegates in this convention. I think the effect of this amendment would be to shut out a good many states.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate, that I have not heard his motion seconded. Until it has been seconded it is not open for discussion.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): There is one objection to the amendment offered by Comrade Gibbs and that is if you have the representation on too low a basis you will have a great convention and the national organization will never receive a fund sufficient to defray the expenses. Now, I believe that the original section is all right. That would leave us just about the same membership as we have here now, which would make the convention about the right size to make it really a deliberative body. I favor the retention of the action as reported by the committee, understanding, of course, that another section will be added to cover the expenses of the delegates.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you the previous question.

Motion seconded.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I ask for special information before this vote is put.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think Comrade Smith asked me for the floor, and I promised the floor. Comrade Smith has the floor.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): In the face of the amendment of the comrade from New York, or wherever it was, to the effect that committeemen must be residents of the state before they can represent the party here, I want to know how long we are going to stay here. Our body is a moving body, and if it is aimed at me, as I think two or three times it has been, I would like to have the opportunity of telling to these delegates the conditions under which I am here at this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: At this time we have nothing before us but the previous question.

The question was then put on the previous question, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the first amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will get all the information coming to you from the Secretary's reading. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: The first amendment is a motion to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and making it "one hundred."

The question was put on the amendment and it was declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Get your information, delegate from Illinois, as we go along. The Secretary will now read the next amendment. Get your information from that. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: Moved by Delegate Dalton of Illinois to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one thousand."

The amendment was put to a vive voce vote and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs to the original report of the committee. The chairman of the committee will read this again, because there have been certain additions. Kindly give him your attention. Immediately upon the close of the reading of this we will vote upon it.

Section 4 of Article X was then read, as follows:

> "Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing. Provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as read, and it carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say

right here that we have got about fifty minutes to complete this report. You can see that we still have about one-fourth of it to pass upon. We will have to move rapidly if we hope to get through. Is there any other matter before us in connection with this article?

THE SECRETARY: There is Comrade Gibbs' amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is to add one more section to Article X, to be known as Section 5, and to read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for the payment of the expenses of the delegates in attending the national convention."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether it is necessary for me to speak a moment upon this question. I simply want to say in justice, however, to the states that are at a distance from the convention that there is a tendency to-day when we elect only men who will attend the convention and pay their own expenses, there is a tendency to have men come here for a week's outing, a week's vacation, and that may explain to some extent the vacant seats found in this convention to-day. Now, I say that is a dangerous thing, and I hope for this reason that the convention will adopt the amendment to the article.

Upon the request of Delegate Mailly (Neb.), the Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Gibbs again.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer this as a substitute for that section; to be known as Section 5, Article X: "The railroad fare of the delegates going to and coming from the convention shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: I accept that amendment.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): This is a serious question, and I think we ought to leave it to the states to make provision for the payment of their own delegates to the national convention, rather than putting it on the national organization. If the states want to be represented in the national convention, let the states pay for their delegates and make provision in their state constitution and let the states take up a collection for their delegates to the national convention. It seems to me as though there were danger in this and that some of the small states and states from afar off might not get their full representation. I believe there is danger in this and I hope that the section will not be adopted without some discussion.

Delegate Saunders then moved the previous question, and the motion being duly seconded, it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the matter before us.

The Secretary then read the substitute as offered by Delegate Mailly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the reading of the substitute. The matter is now open for discussion.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I am opposed to this as a whole, and I am in favor of it as a part, to be raised by a per capita assessment, but I think it should come under Section 6 of Article XII, which provides for the revenue of the organization. I think we ought to carry this along and take up the question when it is before us when we are considering that section in regard to the revenues of the national organization.

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): I want to call your attention to this fact, to the absence of many of our working class representatives who are compelled to stay at home because they could not raise the money to come here. (Applause.) If this convention is to be representative of the working men, you must give the working men a chance to be here and not put the party above the man. (Applause.) It has been stated before in this convention that men have been chosen because of their ability to pay. If that is the way we get together in a Socialist convention, I am here to state that it is time that such a condition was changed. The gentleman from Kansas speaks of the danger which confronts us. We in our state have been fighting for Socialism for years, and the movement there is in no danger from any opponents. Gentlemen, in the name of God, give the plain working man a chance; I ask you, give us a chance to be represented upon the

floor of this convention. (Loud applause.)

The question was then put upon the adoption of Section 5 as an addition to Article X, and the motion carried, and was declared adopted.

NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM.

Section 1 of Article XI was then read, as follows:

"Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the national secretary to a referendum of the party membership upon the request of five state or territorial organizations, or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to amend this, because it does not provide for a local organization. The local organizations have absolutely no say in this matter and I would amend it then in this manner: "Upon the request of five state or territorial organizations, or of ten local organizations," and eliminate all of the remaining portion of the section reading as follows: "Or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate." Two thousand men are too many to be compelled to ask for a referendum. That practically destroys the effect of the referendum. Therefore, I move that amendment.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not hear your amendment seconded, Comrade Toole.

DEL. TOOLE: The amendment was seconded by a comrade over here. You seconded it, did you not?

A DELEGATE: I did.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, we will entertain a second now.

DEL. MAILLY: I want to offer an amendment for this reason: If you leave this as organizations, it would take too long for you to bring about a new referendum. It would mean the state organizations and that would mean a referendum of the party in the state, and that would take too long and would hamper matters instead of facilitating them. So I move that the word "committees" be substituted in place of the word "organizations."

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Then does that last phrase remain, "or any smaller number," etc?

DEL. MAILLY: My amendment does not affect that. My amendment only affects Section 1, and I have only substituted the word "committees" for "organizations" in the phrase "upon the request of five state or territorial organizations."

DEL. STROBELL (N. J.): I should read that by saying five organizations that it does not mean directly the state organizations. If I read it right it means an organization in each state, whether it is a local or a branch or a state organization. That is what we had in our last platform, you know, an organization or a branch in each of five states.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the committee may perhaps be able to enlighten us in regard to that.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will state that in using the expression "state organization" or "territorial organization" we did not have in view any referendum. As I understand it, the state organization is the state committee.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We certainly intended to change it so as to have a referendum by states and not locals. We proceeded on the assumption that if a local desires anything to be submitted to a referendum of the entire membership of the party, it must first procure the consent of its own state to that motion, and if it does not there is no use bothering the nation with it, if it cannot get its own state to act upon it.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): It seems to me that if you read this so that if you have to have five state organizations, that you will make it impossible to get a referendum almost. Now, if you would make it more locals, I would much rather make it twenty locals, and I, therefore, move you that it be made twenty locals instead of five states. Twenty locals in five or more states.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I simply rise to ask this question: I want to know whether if this is adopted, whether

a local desiring a referendum on any question, or a number of locals, whether they will first be compelled to get a referendum of the state before they can reach the nation. Is that it?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. WOODBEY: How would we reach the national referendum if we had to get our request from the state?

THE CHAIRMAN: Your state party will provide a method whereby you may have a referendum.

DEL. WOODBEY: I understand that, but I am opposed to it because I cannot see any way that we could possibly reach the state even when we attempt to do so. I cannot see how we could reach the state committee so as to compel the state committee to request the national committee to make a referendum in any other way than doing just what I have said now. There would be no other door open, and I hope the delegates will understand that now, that there will be no other door open. There cannot possibly be any other way open to the states or the locals in a state to get a referendum on a national amendment except by first taking a referendum in their own state. It will be impossible for us to do otherwise, and if we vote to accept what has been recommended here, that is the situation we will be in. When we go home and a number of locals in the state of California or in Illinois or in New York state wish a referendum or an amendment to the national constitution, there will be no possible way of reaching the state committee except by referendum.

On motion of Delegate Southworth of Colorado, the previous question was then moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the first amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The motion before the house is the amendment by Comrade Webster of Ohio, which is that twenty locals in five or more states or territories shall be necessary for a referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Read the next amendment, please.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one which was offered by Comrade Mailly. It is as follows: The word "committees" shall be substituted for the word "organizations" after the words "five state or territorial."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that all?

THE SECRETARY: That is all. Then there is one more amendment by Comrade Toole of Maryland, which was to amend so as to cut out the last clause of section beginning "Or any smaller number," and so forth, and to substitute therefor the phrase, "or of ten local organizations."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is now open for debate on two sides for three minutes, and Delegate Berlyn is recognized to spead on one side.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I speak in favor of the committee report. The question entirely depends upon the nature of our organization. We recognize fully that the party as a whole is constituted in our national organization by states. Now a local in a state under the state constitution, when they make a demand for a national referendum, can compel the state committee to forward such demand to the national committee. When five organizations in various states have done that and the aggregate membership of such states is two thousand or more, then the referendum is before the party. Now, I do not see how we can make it any different from that or improve upon that. We cannot have our national office in direct communication with all the various locals. That renders impossible the proposition of twenty locals, or ten locals, or one local, calling for a referendum. Suppose you take the proposition of the highest number, twenty locals. We can have twenty locals throughout the United States, and their aggregate membership might not be two hundred. There is considerably less than one per cent of the membership of the party, and they can put us to the expense of a referendum by making a provision that the states in which these locals are which make the demand for the referendum, constitute at least a membership of two thousand or in the neighborhood of five or ten per cent of the membership of the party. Therefore, I think that the section should be adopted as returned by the committee.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak upon the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: In favor of the amendment and against the committee report?

DEL. TITUS: I wish to call first for the reading of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will kindly read the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: Will Delegate Titus kindly state which one he refers to?

DEL. TITUS: That referring to locals.

THE SECRETARY: The motion of Comrade Webster of Ohio was to amend the section so as to read, "Upon the request of twenty locals in five or more states or territories."

DEL. TOOLE: I withdraw my amendment.

DEL. TITUS: I am in favor of that amendment because it puts the referendum in the hands of the party membership and because it makes a referendum immediately effective. If you will notice section 2, you will see that it provides that forty-five days shall elapse for amendments to the referendum, and then forty-five days shall elapse before the referendum is submitted to vote. That is three months. Now, if you want to start a referendum on this plan, you have got to begin a referendum in five different states, which will take a month or two, and that is four months, before getting the referendum voted upon. Now, twenty locals in five different states does not violate state autonomy any more than our present plan. If state autonomy stands in the way of our party, then let state autonomy go. (Applause.) It is proposed that twenty locals in five different states may call for a referendum, and I think that should be accepted as a substitute, and if the matter of expense stands in the way, I say again that democracy is of more importance than expense. The expense of taking these referendums is small, but as you have it now, a referendum, which is the most important thing we have got, is at least three or four months away. (Applause.) Therefore, I am heartily in favor of this substitute.

The question was then put upon the amendment of Delegate Webster and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Real the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is by Comrade Mailly, and it is as follows: To substitute the word "committees" in place of the word "organizations" after the phrase "five state or territorial", and consequently the clause will thus read: "Upon the request of five state or territorial committees."

The question being put upon the amendment, it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, the amendment of Comrade Toole has been withdrawn. Am I correct?

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I have withdrawn my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now vote upon the original section as amended.

The original section as amended was then put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

Section 2 of Article XI was then read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

> "Section 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time the amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of forty-five days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. STROBELL: I move that the time be made twenty days instead of forty-five.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I move that the amendment be laid on the table.

Motion seconded.

The question was put upon the motion to lay on the table and it carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The regular motion on the floor now is the committee's recommendation, and Comrade Titus has the floor.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I move that thirty be substituted instead of forty-five.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Smith of Oregon and carried.

The question was then put on the motion to adopt the original report of the committee as amended, and the motion carried.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): Comrade Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you rise for?

DEL. BICKETT: I would like to express my opinion upon that.

DEL. PARKS: We have something to say on this also. Here is Kansas, too.

THE CHAIRMAN: Kindly take your seat. The committee has the floor. We will proceed with the regular order of business.

Section 3 of Article XI was next read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

> "Section 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I am opposed to it because there ought to be reasons for the referendum, otherwise the membership won't understand.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you an amendment to offer?

DEL. TOOLE: No.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I move to amend by adding after "preamble or comment" the words "by the National Secretary or the National or Executive Committee." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: That question was discussed in the committee. We objected to the wording now proposed by Comrade Oneal, for this reason: that it would debar the Secretary or National Committee from appending any comments, but not the mover of the motion, with the result that you will get instead of the question an ordinary proposition and a string of whereases which will contain a long argument and will go to each and every voter in that shape, whereas the other side of the argument will not be presented to the voters. What we intended was to strike out all preambles, whereases and explanations, but allow sixty days for the proposition to be discussed in the locals and press, so as to have the members afterwards vote intelligently upon it. (Applause.)

The question was put on the amendment and the amendment was lost. The original section as submitted by the committee was then adopted.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Delegate Hillquit continued the reading of the report, as follows:

> "Article XII. State organizations. Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territory organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee."

On motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted.

Section 2 was read, as follows:

> "No state or territory shall be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than 100, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states or territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: I move to amend, because in some of the smaller states it is impossible to form ten locals. I move to substitute the word "five" for the word "ten". Seconded.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if that would put us in Mississippi in the position of being opposed to the National Committee in case we organize without ten locals. We are doing the organizing, and I do not know whether we will have ten locals with 100 members, but if we can organize with less than that, without being considered in opposition to the National Committee, though not being recognized by the National Committee, we wish to do that so as to get into line for hard work.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I favor the report of the committee, for this reason: In a great many cases in the past there have been states organized with five so-called, alleged locals, and this makes it impossible to a great extent to carry on the same kind of work. Therefore, I favor putting the highest limit in the report of the committee because I believe it is wise and to the best interests of the Socialist movement of the United States.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I favor concurring in the report with regard to organized states, for the reason that I believe that those who have had any

experience in the organization work of the party will realize that a great many mistakes have been made on account of organizing too soon, not only in states, but in local places. It seems to me that we should wait until we have ten locals. We should at least have a very strong membership with which to start, and there would not be so much danger of the troubles that come up afterwards that we have known in new states organized without a sufficient membership. For this reason I am in favor of the report of the committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I am in favor of the report of the committee. There are very few states to be organized. It is not a question of how quickly we organize or how strongly or whether only five organizations can carry on the work of the state under state autonomy. I believe in state autonomy, but I do not believe in organizing a state until it is ready to attend to its own affairs.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): Although I agree with the report of the committee, I would like to know what you will do with the states where it is impossible to organize ten locals, like the states of Rhode Island or Delaware, where we cannot organize ten locals.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will say in answer to the question of the delegate from Mississippi that there is absolutely no proposition preventing two or three or four locals uniting for common action in any one state, or different state organizations, as they please, whether it be a state or territorial committee or otherwise. But for the purpose of the national administration of our affairs they are not considered an organized state and are not entitled to representation on the National Committee until they have at least ten locals representing 100 members.

DEL. GERBER: I offer as an amendment that there be inserted right after that the words "except in states where ten locals can be organized." In the State of Rhode Island we can organize five locals at the best. We have every town organized in that State, and still we do not consider it organized at all, because we cannot get ten locals.

Delegate Woodbey (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read the amendments that are before us.

THE SECRETARY: The only amendment which is before the house is that offered by Toole, which is to strike out the word "ten" and substitute the word "five".

DEL. WESLING (N. Y.): It is very important that we get all the States into our organization that can possibly be represented. Ten puts the number very high. There is the State of Rhode Island, that has been referred to. It had a very large Socialist organization five or six years ago. They have cast as high as 3,000 votes, aggregating 9 per cent, and that State has been entirely demoralized. It would be an easy matter to gather 300 dues-paying members in that State, but it will be very difficult to get ten locals, because the movement will be naturally confined to a few industrial towns, and, therefore, it would deprive this state of membership in the National Party. If you make the membership in locals 100 and do not restrict the locals to ten you give every one a fair opportunity, because in the smaller States where small locals are easily organized they can carry on the agitation if they do not have to have a membership like the plan presented. Therefore, I think that the spirit of this clause of the committee report will be preserved if you make it five locals and leave the membership the same, because Rhode Island may otherwise be deprived of representation in the National Committee. I think you ought to take that into consideration.

The question on the amendment was put and the amendment declared lost. A division was called for, and on a rising vote the amendment was defeated.

The question on the original question as submitted by the committee was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of adjournment has arrived. What is your pleasure?

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that the rules be suspended requiring adjournment at half-past five, and that we adjourn when we have completed the report of the Committee on Constitution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Section 3 was next read, as follows:

"The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto."

The adoption of this section was moved and seconded.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I move to amend by adding the words, "and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances, fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor candidates of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee accepts that.

The section was then adopted.

STATE COMMITTEE REPORTS.

Section 4 was read, as follows:

"In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory. Their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations."

On motion duly seconded, the section was adopted.

Section 5 was read.

"The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the national secretary concerning the membership, financial condition and general standing of the party."

The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to amend by striking out "monthly" and inserting "quarterly." It puts too much work on the secretaries, who serve without pay.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): We pay dues monthly. This was a matter that was discussed for a long time before the committee. It is an effort to provide the National Secretary with the material from which he will make up the totals and make the reports which we have already voted that he shall make. It simply means that the state secretaries shall report monthly, and that that report which they are making anyway in the payment of dues, shall not be simply the forwarding of a certain sum of money for stamps, but shall carry with it a detailed statement of the membership of the state. If that is done then the monthly report of the National Secretary will show for all the states the membership by months, the increase or decrease and the growth of the party. That is the intention. The amount of labor will hardly be noticeable, because it is provided further that the secretaries shall report on blanks provided, and it will simply be a matter of changing the totals once a month; that will be all that will be necessary. There is very little additional labor. It provides the materials from which we have required the National Secretary to make his monthly totals for the whole number of states, and gives the growth of the party membership monthly.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): It seems that there are blanks furnished now, at this time, and while Comrade Mills seems to think this will not cause much additional work, if any, it involves more; it involves going over the books and records and getting the information that is mentioned in that article. Unless he can show that there is an improvement in the method proposed over the method now in vogue, I say the work is entirely too much, to require a monthly report of the membership. I do not think it is necessary to require the reports to be made monthly.

The previous question was moved and seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I speak for the amendment. I want to say about the same that Comrade Kerrigan has, and that most of the locals do not send their money monthly, but I get the money from time to time, and I guess the other secretaries are in the same fix that I am. How am I going to report when I don't have anything to report on? I think it is a pretty hard matter to keep up any way, and if I report once every three months I think I am doing pretty well. and I can't do it well even then every

time. I know the state secretaries that are here and that have the job of dealing with the locals do not get any pay, but have to do their work and correspondence at night after they work like slaves all day, and they are satisfied, I think, with the proposition to make reports every three months. I think they are doing pretty well if they go every week or two weeks and do their other work and make reports too, and then work till twelve or one o'clock, and I think they are satisfied to make it every three months.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I think the delegate from Alabama will find the matter to be very simple. The only thing that will be done will be the writing of the membership. Take your local reports and you will get it once a month. I think monthly reports should be had, and I am in favor of the original proposition. The question was put on the amendment to strike out "monthly" and insert "quarterly" and the amendment was lost. The section as reported by the committee was then adopted.

DUES TO THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 6 was read, as follows:

"Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the word "five" and inserting the word "three," for this reason: To the extent that the membership increases, the greater part of the agitation and organization will be taken care of by the states respectively. It is true that when you have a great number of unorganized states the funds required by the national organization for organizing unorganized districts are greater than they are as the organization proceeds with a larger development and greater number of members. Just to the extent that we increase in members the funds of the national organization increase, and at the same time the members in the respective states are better able to take care of their states and organize their respective localities and districts. When we commenced assume that we had a membership of 3,000—now we have 23,000; but while the funds in the hands of the national organization have increased, limiting its organization to the unorganized territories to a large extent, you would by reducing the amount from five to three cents have an increase of members which in the next few years will give substantially the same sum that you are now receiving, and you would have it by reason of the fact not only of the increase due to the efforts of the national organization, but through the efforts of the state organizations, which very often can use their funds to greater advantage in organized states than a national organization can, because to a large extent you are unfamiliar with the localities and the work that has to be done in the respective states. I think, though, as the membership increases, the funds going to the states should increase and not to the national headquarters. For that reason I think three cents will be better for the members and better for organization purposes and for the party.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I am in favor of the report, for this reason: The comrade that spoke last upon the proposition is anticipating a large increase in the membership, but at the same time we cannot figure on that. We have before us at the present time a national campaign. This convention has also increased the expenses of the national headquarters, and you cannot run the national committee with two-fifths of that which they are at present receiving from the party. If you do that you will cripple the work that you have outlined for this national committee, and it would be an unwise move on the part of this convention. (Applause.) I want to call attention to the fact that in the last two years, with the efficient work of our national officers we have wiped out a debt that has been hanging over the party for four or five years, and we have arrived at that point now where we have put upon the national organization work that is within their province and which we hope they will carry out. They have been having a balance of $115, or $120, or $125, left at the end of each month, and you want to take away from them two-fifths of their present revenue, which is $600, based upon the average income. I believe if this convention adopts the amendment it will do a thing that is

not wise nor in the interest of the organization. (Applause.)

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I would like to speak against the adoption of the amendment, not in regard to the grounds that the comrade spoke of previously, or simply in regard to the work of the national organization, but from the other end of the proposition. I believe it is a detriment to this party to encourage a lessening of the dues or average membership expenses. So far as I am concerned myself, I would favor having the dues doubled or increased in the interest of the membership rather than lessening the dues to such a small sum as three cents. There is a tendency on the part of the membership not to realize the financial responsibility of the organization. I have noticed that over and over again in our propaganda work. As I have often had occasion to tell the comrades in Colorado, there are persons who are well-to-do, earning good salaries, getting higher pay than wage earners who receive good pay for their work, and nevertheless never think of paying a dollar into the propaganda work or the organization. I believe it is the duty of the American Socialist party to train its membership in regard to its financial responsibility. We read about the German national party having an enormous campaign fund, the largest fund of any party in the German Empire, and that in instances there are persons who pay $5,000 into their campaign fund. Such a thing is unheard of, I suppose, here in the American organization. I believe it is the duty of the party to so educate the membership to its financial responsibility in regard to supporting the party that we can build up a party of which we will be proud and that we can point to with pride, and maintain our financial responsibility instead of lessening and crippling the means that that membership has to maintain a militant Socialist Party in America. (Applause.)

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I offer an amendment to strike out the word "three" and insert the word "ten." (Applause.) And add after the words "territory" the words "five cents of this sum to be set aside and accumulated to pay the expenses of the members of the National Committee and the delegates to the National Convention when in regular session." Now, Mr. Chairman, if you will figure up the expense this convention has put on our organization you will find that the expenses of the national organization will be $6,000——

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. Has this amendment been seconded?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has not.

DEL. DALTON: Then he has no right to discuss it.

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. BICKETT: You will bear in mind that the expenses of the organization even at the lowest will be about $2,000. It will take 5,000 members to pay the expense, on the basis of five cents, to pay the salary of the National Secretary. You will incur many other expenses that you should take account of. Ten cents to the national organization per capita is not too much. Fifty cents even for the organization is not too much. I maintain what I do for this reason: To limit the membership to those who understand what the organization is for. It is evident to any one who has been active in this move ment for the last five or six years that we have a great many in our organization who do not realize the responsibilities of the organization or of Socialism; who do not understand the first principles. They are attracted to the movement by the hypnotic word Socialism, and they come in in a hurry, and to maintain our existence our officers have got to be expert hypnotists, you might say. They have to draft their letters and communications to the locals and to the membership in a hypnotic form to draw them on, and I am opposed to that. I would sooner see a membership of 10,000 Socialists paying fifty cents a month dues and have a good, strong militant organization, than have an organization of 50,000 members with about one hundred spellbinders to keep them in line. If you build it on small dues you will need the spellbinders, and that will destroy the compactness of your organization. You will have members following leaders and have factional fights. But when you build up an organization with every man realizing that when he joins it he is joining something, then you have got an organization. If he don't want to pay fifty cents a month, then he can go to work for Socialism and vote for it and hurrah, but we want members

who will work for Socialism in this organization, in my opinion. It has been my experience that the membership of Cincinnati has grown within the last year from 65 members to over 500, and we have got to send special committees around to collect dues and keep them in line, and spend all the money in getting them to the meetings and in advertising and propaganda within our own membership, for many a time from the floor of the Local Cincinnati have I seen the fundamental principles of Socialism dragged in the dust. Now, that is simply because of our loose form of organization. It is entirely too loose, and the thing that will prevent that is high dues. These sentimentalists are not going to run into our organization when they have to pay for it, but when you have low dues where they can come and spit their fire out and go away and come back in three months afterward, then the party will sooner or later cease to be a Socialist Party based on the true principles of Socialism.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I consider the proposition to reduce the dues of the national organization to three cents little less than a crime (applause), for this reason: Since last February there never has been a month closed in which there was sufficient funds to pay all the debts of the national organization. We are going into a campaign and if we reduce the dues at the present time to three cents we will simply destroy the work that has been done within the last year. (Applause.)

DEL. GLANZ (N. J.): I am in favor of the report for the simple reason you have decided here this afternoon to provide ways and means to defray the expenses of your delegates to the National Convention. You have also decided to increase the salary of your National Secretary, and for that reason I desire to support the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): From the remarks the proposition would seem to indicate that some one was trying to disrupt the organization. It would seem that there are men on the floor to advocate this thing. That is not the proposition. The question is merely as to the method of expending the money. Shall it be expended through the national office at long range, in organized states or shall it be extended through the state organizations in their immediate vicinity and in a field that they understand, by methods which they have worked out in their own organization for their own locality? That is the question. It is not any question of crime or anything else. Please get that out of your minds. Second, with regard to the National Committee. You will go further back than February to find a time when there was a national debt over the organization, very much further back. Now, then, please turn that argument the other way, for that is where it belongs. The national debt has practically been paid off. The necessity for heavy dues from the national membership has practically ceased. The memberhip is growing. The comrade questions it. There is no question about the growth of the membership in the coming four years, and that is what we are working upon. Another point: We have just made arrangements to-day for adding to the power of the National Committee two more sources of income. These ought to be and will be sources of income. First, the lecture bureau. The uniform rate of pay for these men is at a rate which will probably make it possible in view of the increase in membership, shorter railroad jumps, larger number of appointments made, and so on, to secure something for the national organization on the regular routes of these men. Am I right?

A DELEGATE: No.

DEL. GAYLORD: Well, I think I am, for I have been looking over the ground. We, representing the party in Wisconsin in the national organization, have helped out the national organization. Now, as to the literary bureau, there is a proposition made that literature shall be published and sold. This will not mean at an exorbitant profit, but a little profit on a great many sales is an ordinary proposition to make money. What we want is an opportunity to distribute literature, to print literature and distribute it. I would rather have a national bureau do that so long as it is a regular bureau and not for profit. Somebody suggested something about the sentimentalists. Who are they? There is not much danger of sentimentalists joining the party. There are not many in Wisconsin, at any rate, joining the party out of sentiment.

There is something required when they join the Socialist Party that requires more than mere sentiment. The sentimentalists are the people that stand around with their hands in their pockets wishing they could find something to do for Socialism. I say, "Why don't you join the party?"

DEL. STEDMAN: It costs $60 per local.

DEL. GAYLORD: It costs the national organization $60 per local to organize, which is simply to the interest, you see, of the members. The states are rapidly becoming organized. There is less and less use for the expensive work which has been absolutely necessary. I am not kicking about the expense; I am simply showing less and less will be absolutely necessary, and more and more results will follow with the more economic and effective method and unanimous co-operation of the state organizations, with their close fellowship; don't forget that. You cannot spoil fellowship by reducing dues, and you will do more effective work than by this other long-range method which has been in favor up to this time. It seems to me it is for us to consider which is the best method of expending money. We are expending this money. Don't think we are striking a blow at the head of the National Secretary or at the national office. I am sorry the comrades feel so strongly about it. I am simply trying to provide an argument from this side. I am sure some others should provide it also because I am sure they have it in their minds. All the arguments except that of Comrade Stedman have been on the other side. Now, then, don't make the mistake of robbing the local organizations. Rather reduce the amount of local dues to be paid by the branch to the national organization, because the difference can be used to better advantage at home. Do you get the point? That is the point; stick to it. Use the money in the most effective way, that is at short range. (Applause.) I am asked a question. The question is, What do we hope to accomplish by reducing the dues? I do not propose, nor does Comrade Stedman, to reduce the dues paid into the whole organization. We propose to reduce the percentage of the total dues paid to the national organization.

DEL. HILLQUIT, of the Constitution Committee: I will just give you briefly the process of reasoning which actuated us in adopting that recommendation. When the question of fixing the dues came up before the committee it was discussed, and we proceeded on this assumption: We cannot have any large bank account now pertaining to the national office, but we know that the work done by the national office has been necessary. Perhaps a little more could have been done, but no superfluous work has been done. As a result there is absolutely no money in the treasury at the office, and some debts are to come on top of this and at a time when we have to make provision for a national campaign of the largest dimensions so far as Socialist campaigns are concerned. We are making arrangements to increase the facilities of the national office and add departments to it, adding a literature department which involves, like any investment of money, a need of income. To come at that time, and speak of curtailing the dues to the national office, seems to us absolutely out of place and out of common sense. (Applause.) Now, I suggest to you, comrades, and to Comrades Stedman and Gaylord, they seem to be afraid that our national office will get rich. Let us say this: we are getting reports from the national committee every month or so. We see not only how much money came into the office, but we also see how much was expended and what it was expended for. Whenever we discover that the national office is getting more money than it can properly and profitably employ for the cause of Socialism we will get our twenty locals in five states to move that it be reduced. (Applause.) So far, there is no necessity for it.

Delegate Robbins (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Discussion is now in order, and Delegate Mills has the floor. Upon which side do you speak, Comrade?

DEL MILLS: In favor of the three-cent dues.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is in favor of the amendment. No one is in order but Delegate Mills.

A DELEGATE: I wish to speak next.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you will have to get the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to speak in favor of the three-cent dues because the motion was not made for two cents. The comrades who have served on the National Committee are aware that I have been in favor of two-cent national dues for a long time and that we have, or I have agreed, not to raise the question solely under the consideration that there were other and more important matters first to be provided for. I do not agree with the sentiment making the dues three cents a month as a basis for the revenues of the national organization. I will give only one illustration. In the State of Kansas we have never had a secretary who has been able to give attention to the work, or at least who has done so, until the first of last January. We have only been paying ten dollars a week, but yet Kansas has accomplished more since the first day of January than during the two years previous that it has been an organized state. Now, Comrades, if more states, if a dozen states are to have the benefit of this increase, not a reduction of dues, but a different method of expending the dues, it would strengthen our organization and we would have a better local organization to carry on the campaign on the ground where the real battles must be fought anyway. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to speak in favor of the committee's report. I want to say that I regard it as little less than a crime to reduce the dues to be paid to the national office; I don't regard it as less than a crime. I regard it as a crime against the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I have no doubt whatever that Comrade Mills is in favor of three cents as against five cents. I have no doubt whatever that Comrade Mills is in favor of nothing at all as against three cents. I have no doubt, however, but that Comrade Mills is in favor of a national organization at this time, whatever the cost may be, and I believe there can be nothing more fatal to the interests of the Socialist Party of America than to jeopardize its national organization by cutting short its funds. In the cities and in the states we may raise funds for city and state purposes more readily than we can do it for the national organization, and we cannot afford to say that the national office must depend upon a begging policy in order that it may carry on its work. (Applause.) What are we talking about? What are we discussing? We have now organizers of the Socialist Party, with a five-cent due, who are waiting for their wages; wages which were too little to begin with and which they ought to have had long ago. We have now $700, I understand, standing out, owing to the national organizers, workmen like ourselves, whom we haven't got the money to pay, even when the national fee is five cents instead of three. Comrades, from state and city and hamlet there come to the national office, as every one here knows, calls for Socialistic lecturers, calls for the propaganda of this movement, and the national office sits there equipped to send men in everything except the money to send them. (Loud applause.) Comrades, I am opposed to any motion to reduce dues. Should it be carried on the floor of this convention, should this convention betray the interest of the party to that extent, I for one will agitate that the matter be referred to the referendum of the party. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the first amendment upon which there will be a vote without any further debate.

A DELEGATE: I rise for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There can be no information granted, Comrade, at this time, except such as you gain from the reading of the Secretary.

THE DELEGATE: Are you aware that the Committee on Constitution has in its hands a report which has not yet been brought before this convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: We don't know anything except that the convention is prepared now to vote upon this question and the delegate will be seated. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the amendments.

THE SECRETARY: Delegate Bickett, of Ohio, moved to amend section 6 of Article XII by striking out the words "five cents" and inserting "ten cents," and adding after the word "territories" the following: "Five cents of this amount shall be set aside to accumulate to pay the expenses of the

members of the National Committee and the delegates to the National Convention when in regular session."

The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Bickett as read by the Secretary, and it was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one by Comrade Stedman, of Illinois, to amend by striking out the word "five" and to substitute the word "three."

The amendment was put to a vive voce vote, and the result being in doubt, a division was called for. A rising vote was then had with the result that the Chairman declared the motion lost. The announcement of the Chairman was received with loud applause.

The question then recurring upon the original section as reported by the Committee, it was put to a vive voce vote and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I rise to amend——

THE CHAIRMAN: There is nothing before us to amend. There is no section before us until the Chairman of the Committee reads it. The comrade will please be in order. Proceed.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Section 7 of Article XII was then read by Chairman Hillquit as follows:

"Section 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded. Motion carried.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I rise to make a motion to insert another clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: To add a new clause. Let us have it.

DEL. BERGER: To add another clause to be known as section 8, to read as follows: "No member of the Socialist Party having been nominated for any political office, shall sign any pledge of any capitalistic political parties or organizations. Any member of the Socialist Party elected to any political office shall be considered a representative of the Socialist Party, and a member in the political division in which he is elected, and subject at all times to the management of the same."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I wish to speak in favor of the amendment. I believe we have in Eastern Illinois one of the best reasons for the adoption of this new section. We have elected individual members to office there who have on divers occasions refused to carry out their instructions.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point.

DEL. SIMONS: The delegate is bringing a subject matter into this convention that is still undecided in the local party here, and as the other side cannot be heard, I do not believe it is in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot agree that the question is out or order, but I can agree that it is unwise to take up the time of the convention at this time with a local dispute that belongs before the State Committee.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I will modify that then, Mr. Chairman and Comrades.

DEL. SIMONS: Leave out the state or the district, the specific place, and then it is all right. We all know that it is possible for any individual elected to office to say to his constituents, or rather the membership of the Socialist organization that elected him, to say, "I am not going to vote with you people," and you have a vote where it probably should be three thousand, and you can only account for one thousand of the Socialist Party membership. He can very well say to us, "I owe my allegiance to the electorate," instead of owing his allegiance to the political party by which he was elected. I believe that will be sufficient, and not wishing to take up time any longer, I submit that that is a sufficient reason for passing it.

Motion was made and seconded to lay the amendment on the table.

A vive voce vote was then taken and the result being doubtful, a division was called for. The motion was then put to a rising vote, and declared carried, and accordingly the amendment was tabled.

Article XII was then read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee."

The adoption of the article as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to amend so as to have the article read as follows: "The National headquarters to be in Chicago, Illinois."

Motion seconded.

A motion was then made and seconded to table the amendment, and the question being put, it was carried and the amendment tabled.

The question then recurring on the adoption of the article as reported by the Committee it was put to a vive voce vote and declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

Article XIV was then read, as follows:

"This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided."

On motion duly seconded and carried, the article was declared adopted as read.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee is now through. We have adopted a motion here to stay in session until the Committee gets through, and I understand they are through. The Committee has the floor.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): There are a few provisions here which I notice are marked "not considered by all of the Committee." I am frank to say they were not considered by me. The first is withdrawn, I am informed by the Committee. The section withdrawn reads as follows:

"Section 2, Article II. No member of the party in one state or territory shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular organized movement in any other state."

The Committee recommends the adoption of the last two sections. The first one reads as follows:

"Section 3, Article II. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state, may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer."

Motion was made and seconded to adopt the section as read.

REMOVAL OF NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move to amend that section as follows: "Any national committeeman found guilty by the National Committee of violating the principles or constitution of the party shall have his seat declared vacant by the National Committee and the election of his successor referred to the state or territorial organization."

Motion seconded.

DEL. GOSS (O.): I do not quite understand the sense of that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will kindly read the amendment of Comrade Stedman.

The Secretary then read the amendment as requested by the Chairman.

DEL. GOSS: I would be willing to vote for that if there was a provision added to it. I don't believe that any organization, and particularly the Socialist Party, should have the right to expel any representative that may be chosen by any of the states to represent them on the National Committee, unless the member of the National Committee is given a fair trial. He should be given a chance to defend himself.

THE CHAIRMAN: That follows as a matter of course. Delegate Stedman will kindly enlighten the comrade in that regard.

DEL. STEDMAN: If the National Committee at any time sends a man to a state and the state sends him back they will have to receive him.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Then I move to add to Comrade Stedman's amendment the following: "And the cause of such action to be submitted to the members of said state, where he is a committeeman."

DEL. STEDMAN: I will accept it.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I don't believe the Committee has the right to expel any member. I believe that right should be preserved to the state. I move this amendment be tabled.

The motion was seconded and carried and the amendment declared tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

CHAIRMAN HILLQUIT: I am just informed by my colleagues on the Committee that a majority of the mem-

bers on the Committee recommends the last clause, which reads as follows:

"Section 6, Article IV. On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state organization, or of any local subject to its jurisdiction, in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken acting under the rules of the National Committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the article as read.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It seems to me that the word "local," the third word in the third line, should be stricken out. It seems to me this has nothing to do with locals. The investigation of a state that has violated the principles or platform of the national organization would not be a matter for any local to take up.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The Committee informs me that it will accept the suggestion and strike out the word "local."

DEL. GAYLORD: Then it will read, "On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state organization."

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes.

DEL. GAYLORD: "Subject to the national jurisdiction?"

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the section as it has been amended:

The Secretary then read the section as amended and upon motion duly seconded and carried the section was declared adopted as amended.

PROTECTION OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

A delegate then moved to adjourn.

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you that section 2 of Article II, which reads as follows, be called up: "No member of the party in one state or territory shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular organized movement in any other state." I move the adoption of that section as read.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded by Delegate Stedman that the first paragraph under the caption, "Not considered by all of the Committee," be adopted as it appears in the printed slip.

DEL. STEDMAN: Some three years ago you will remember we had a contest over the question of state autonomy. It was hoped at that time that it was settled for once and for all. The constitution that we have adopted here this afternoon gives the national organization the right to send lecturers into any state it may choose, and it gives the National Committee the right to go into the state and decide controversies, and I think we should have something in the constitution so that the state may tell the nation to keep its hands off and may tell the other states to keep their hands off. It has been a Godsend to the states outside that you have not been called upon to judge the differences that have occurred in the State of Illinois, and there is no reason under heaven why any single man who is a representative of the state should ask the National Committee to come and sit in judgment upon purely a local squabble. I think that amendment should be carried for this reason: The growth of the parties within the states gives them a local standing which our national organization should not take away from them. I believe that should be placed in the constitution, so that every single state can keep meddlers out of the state when it desires and keep persons away from it who are coming in to settle grievances and who always end up by creating a disturbance.

Motion was made and seconded to table the motion of Delegate Stedman, but it was defeated on being put to a vive voce vote.

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as read and it was carried and declared adopted amidst enthusiastic applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: This completes the work of the Committee, as I understand it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: There is one more provision:

"This constitution shall take effect and be in force from and after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership. In voting upon this constitution members must vote it as a whole."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee as read.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to make a motion to take from the table the amendment to section 2 of Article IX, offered by myself and seconded by Delegate Spears, of Illinois, and that it be sent back to the Committee on Constitution in order that it may receive the consideration which it deserves.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is another matter before the house, and, therefore, your motion cannot be entertained. In its proper order, when there is nothing else before the house, we will entertain a motion such as you make, but we cannot entertain such a motion at this time, because if the motion is carried there will be two separate and distinct matters before the house. This matter that is reported by the Committee is the only legitimate matter before us. We will discuss that and nothing else at this time.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Are we now ready to adopt the entire report of the Committee on Constitution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not quite. We will first pass upon this section that is now before us, and then, if necessary, we will pass a motion to adopt the constitution as a whole.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I move as an amendment that we accept the report with the exception of the part of it that states that the membership shall be compelled to vote upon it as a whole, and I wish to substitute for that that they may have an opportunity of voting on it seriatim.

The motion was seconded.

The question was put on the motion and it was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes upon the original recommendation of the Committee.

A vive voce vote was then taken upon the adoption of the recommendation as returned by the Committee and the result being doubtful, a division was called for.

A rising vote was then taken and the section declared adopted, the vote standing as follows: 59 in favor, 30 opposed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now does the delegate from Illinois wish to renew his motion to take from the table?

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that we take from the table the amendment to section 2 of Article IX, offered by Comrade Meyer, the section being the one providing for the printing of pamphlets in different languages.

The question was then put and the motion lost.

DEL. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): I move that we now adopt the constitution as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The Committee on Municipal Program decides to be heard upon the question of adopting the constitution as a whole. The Committee at their meeting yesterday had a typewritten resolution recommending an amendment to the constitution of sections which I shall not take the time to discuss here. By some accident this did not reach the Committee in time, and only reached them this afternoon; I do not know the reason why. I, therefore, desire to ask that you will defer final action on the constitution as a whole until that Committee has given proper consideration to the recommendation of the Municipal Program Committee.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have adopted a motion that we shall not adjourn until the Committee has completed its report.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I move that we delay the vote on the constitution as a whole until we receive further information from the Committee on Municipal Program.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the motion to adopt the constitution as a whole lie on the table until we hear from the Committee on Platform and Municipal Program. It is only amendable as to time.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As to that, I move, Mr. Chairman, that we now proceed to the adoption of the constitution as a whole, except that we may reopen it for the purpose of hearing the report of the Committee on Municipal Program.

DEL. MORGAN: I accept that amendment.

DEL. STEDMAN: Suppose the Committee on Resolutions should bring in something.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, and besides that, the motion is out of order. The motion before us is that the motion to approve the constitution as a whole lie on the table subject to some recommendation or report from the Committee on Municipal Program.

The motion was carried and it was so ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is to fix the time for adjournment, and I want to say before you fix this time for adjournment, that when this time is fixed it does not mean that we will then adjourn. You will decide by vote whether you will meet to-night or not and when you have fixed that time, I have some announcements that I will make.

It was moved and seconded that the convention adjourn, to meet again at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day.

The Chairman then announced the meeting places of the various committees and the question was then put upon the motion to adjourn, which was carried.

EVENING SESSION

The convention came to order promptly at eight o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the language of the celebrated southern statesman we had better learn at this point just about where we are at before we proceed any further. In accordance with the Chair's understanding of the situation, the report of the Committee on Constitution being the last order of business under the rules of order, and that report being disposed of, it would appear that we are face to face now with unfinished business. That unfinished business, in accordance with the understanding of the Chair, being the report of the Press Committee, which was under discussion at the last previous session of this convention. If the delegates or the Chairman of the Press Committee are in the hall, and the Chairman is prepared to continue his report, we will hear from him. Is Delegate Simons here? Is any one else on the Press Committee prepared to take up his report where he left off? Is it in the hands of the Secretary?

ASSIST. SEC'Y CROSS: The Secretary might say that the report is in the hands of the Secretary, or rather in the hands of the Assistant Secretary. But the Assistant Secretary does not feel himself capable of the task of presenting the report of this Committee to this convention because he knows not what they recommend, he knows not how to explain the resolutions to the convention, and, consequently, it appears to him that it might be the best thing for us to do to lay this report over until some member of this Press Committee appears before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: It may be a very good suggestion for the convenience of the Secretary and also to overcome the neglect on the part of the Press Committee to be here and at the disposal of the convention when they are called, but it seems to me if we are going to take up business in regular order it ought to be taken up in that way. Here is Delegate Simons now. Delegate Simons will please take the platform and report for the Committee on Press, where he left off at the last previous session of this convention.

DEL. SIMONS: The next recommendation of the Press Committee has already been covered by the Committee on Constitution and was to the effect that the National Secretary be empowered to issue a printed monthly report of official affairs. The matter being disposed of, no motion is necessary.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, that matter having been covered in the constitution, it will be passed. There is no objection and it is so ordered.

SOCIALIST PLATE MATTER.

DEL. SIMONS: The next recommendation of the Committee reads as follows:

> "We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party for the pur-

pose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics.

There are, at the present time, a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but either because of lack of editorial or financial ability, are not able to secure the same. In many places, also, Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways: either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper, or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control, it will reduce the expense of publication."

DEL. SIMONS: Comrade Chairman, I want to move you in accordance with this recommendation, that the convention recommends to the National Committee the organization of such a bureau.

The motion of Delegate Simons received several seconds.

DEL. KERRIGAN: What would be the cost of such an undertaking?

DEL. SIMONS: We have investigated the matter, and believe that the expense will be very small and that in a short time the undertaking will be self-supporting.

DEL. KERRIGAN: It would be some little work to carry this thing through, would it not?

DEL. SIMONS: I do not think it would. I think it could be made to more than pay its own way at the start. One hundred papers would more than do that, and we have promises of practically that many papers, and then there are a good many other papers which once we get started would be willing to take our matter, so that in my opinion there will be only a short time indeed before the undertaking would be on a paying basis.

DEL. JOHNSON (Ia.): I would like to state for the benefit of those comrades who are not interested especially in the publication of Socialist papers, that this suggestion of the chairman of the Press Committee would be a very good thing from the standpoint of the patrons and the papers constituting the present Socialist press. It would help out in a great many ways in their work, and I believe that there would be a sufficient demand in a very short time for a sufficient number of those plates to make it a source of at least a small income to the national organization, and for one I am heartily desirous that that work shall be taken up by the organization according to the suggestion of the chairman of the Press Committee.

The question was then put and the motion carried unanimously.

DEL. SIMONS: That is practically all of our report. It is the main thing that we wished to accomplish. I do not think of anything more. (Loud applause.) There is just one word I want to say for the information of those here. The charge which the Press Association makes to us, and probably the same thing will be made to the party, is one dollar per page, which is six columns every three weeks. It can be spread out over three weeks. At the present time with one hundred papers it would only be furnished every three weeks, and that would give two columns a week for three weeks.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Comrade Simons before retiring if he can give us the name of the delegate who can inform the delegates here, who are anxious for information in regard to this matter, and particularly in regard to this plate bureau.

DEL. SIMONS: On the technical side of it, Comrade Strobell has gathered more material than anybody else. On some sides of it I have gathered all the material I could get hold of, and I would be glad to answer any questions that you may put to me.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please notice, those that are interested in this matter, that they may consult with Comrade Strobell, of New Jersey, and Comrade Simons, of Illinois, in regard to such information as they desire.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I shall be more than pleased to give all the information in my power as also will Comrade Strobell.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any other unfinished business that the Secretary knows of?

A DELEGATE: The Resolutions Committee has not reported.

THE CHAIRMAN: What disposition was made of the Trades Union Committee?

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): It has not been acted upon yet.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there are no objections, we will start to call the committees in their regular order and hear from them as they are read, if they are ready. The first is the Committee on Platform, are they ready?

The Committee on Platform not being ready to report, it was passed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the Committee on Municipal Program ready?

DEL. UNTERMAN (Ill.): The Committee on Municipal Program will be ready to report to-morrow morning; it prefers to wait until to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Municipal Program reports progress and promises to have its matter in such shape as to intelligently act upon it to-morrow. Is the Committee on Resolutions ready to report?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We are ready.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo, the Chairman of that Committee, will please take the platform.

Resolution on Colorado Outrages

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Your Committee in completing its report desires to move the following resolution upon the outrages in Colorado and other phases of the class struggle:

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalistic rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

"Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organization of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

"Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen, and that merely at the caprice of the President.

"At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended with the result that in a so-called 'free state' of our so-called 'free republic' there exists a despotism greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

"Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private

ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage-working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

"Therefore, this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist Movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life, which alone can free individual and collective man."

DEL. SPARGO: Your Committee desires to explain, if explanation be necessary, why such a lengthy resolution has been drafted. We understand perfectly well that for the purposes of this convention it might not be necessary to have any such resolution, but in the present condition of affairs there is one thing quite certain, that the great bulk of the people and the workers of this country know nothing, or little, if anything at all, of the condition of affairs in Colorado and other parts of the country to which we refer. (Loud applause.) Now it seemed to your committee that this resolution, if adopted, might find its way even into the capitalist press. That if it did not it ought to be published in the Socialist press, so that we, at least, could say: "Here the Socialist Party has declared and shown the real meaning of these outrages against which you are complaining."

Now, then, there were several resolutions which came before your committee which were referred to other committees in whose province they came. A resolution also came before the committee which in its way established something of a precedent. Delegate Littlefield handed it in on behalf of some one who is understood not to be a member of the Socialist Party. It was a resolution for our consideration advocating co-operative exchanges. It is only fair to Delegate Littlefield to say also that he declined responsibility for the resolution. Your committee decided that we take action on these resolutions as they are presented, instead of reading them over here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is of the opinion that at some previous meeting it was decided to print the reports of the committees. If that has no particular bearing on the matter before us we may, of course, act on the matter as it comes before us. I should say that in accordance with former methods of procedure, we had better listen to the report of the Committee on Resolutions and then take them up in their turn, perhaps.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): These resolutions are not to be printed. Therefore, I make a motion that we consider them seriatim as they are read.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I don't think there is going to be so much before this session to-night but what we can let the committee read the resolutions over and then take them up.

The question was then put on Delegate Keown's motion, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first action then before the convention is on the resolution just read by the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move the adoption of the Colorado resolution as read.

The motion was seconded and the question called for.

DEL. UNTERMANN (Ill.): I wish to offer an amendment to this resolution that the passage which now reads "Liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen," be amended so as to read: "Liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee

accepts the amendment. Your committee had these things under advisement, but there were so many other things which might have been mentioned which could not be mentioned, that we decided for that reason that we could not take up matters any more in detail than they were brought to us. We would not have had the time to go into all these matters if we had tried to do so.

DEL. McEACHERN (Ill.): I would like to have that portion of the resolution which refers to the fact that the Dick military bill was instituted at the caprice of the President, if that is the sense of the resolution, I would wish to have that stricken out.

DEL. SPARGO: That is not in any way the sense of the resolution. I will read the text and then I think you will get the sense: "And by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and that merely at the caprices of the President." Not that the bill was instituted at the caprice of the President, but that, as a matter of fact, the enforcement of the provisions of that statute are entirely dependent upon the caprice of the President.

The question was called for.

DEL. GARVER (Mo.): I wish to offer the following amendment, to insert the word "only" in the clause, "the Socialist Party is the party of the working class." The reason why I desire to insert this word is because it has been intimated to me on the floor of this house to-day that the trades union party is a capitalist party. I wish to emphasize the fact that the Socialist Party is the only party of the working class. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee will please read it.

DEL. SPARGO: The Committee will accept the amendment if the convention will accept the responsibility for the tautological expression of the resolution in that form. When you say, "It is the party of the working class," it is entirely superfluous to say "the only party." That is singular and not plural, and it is as specific as it can possibly be. If, however, the convention insists upon having "only," superfluous as it is, added to the resolution, we have no objection. (Loud applause.)

DEL. GARVER: I am satisfied with the explanation. The only object of the amendment was to draw the attention of the convention to that very point and make clear our contention in that matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention is hardly in need of any such explanation. The motion upon the adoption of the resolution as amended is now in order.

The question was then put and the resolution adopted by a unanimous vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

DEL. WESSLING (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. WESSLING: Couldn't it be made unanimous?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is unanimous.

DEL. WESSLING: Well, have it so stated.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the Secretary can so state if he thinks it necessary. The Committee will proceed.

DEL. SPARGO: Among the resolutions submitted to the Committee was a statement rather than a resolution by Comrade Holman of Minnesota, on behalf of the State of Minnesota. I only mention it here because in printed form it has been handed around the convention. Now the comrades of Minnesota have come to the committee and said that upon reconsideration they are in favor of withdrawing it and letting the matter take its usual course in their own state committee. Therefore, your committee desires to withdraw that resolution which has been before the convention in printed form.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any objections to the withdrawal of the resolution that has been printed and handed around to the delegates under the caption "The Minnesota Case?" There is no objection, and the position of the committee will stand as the position of the convention. It will be so ordered. The Committee will proceed.

AS TO SECRET CAUCUSES.

DEL. SPARGO: A resolution from a delegate from Connecticut was presented to the committee, as follows:

"Resolved that it is the sense of this convention that we should at this period of our development as a class conscious party, cut loose from every capitalist device and method, and that we hereby condemn the holding of secret caucuses by the members of this convention, and if any such there be who have been guilty of such action, they are hereby condemned. That we do not believe in and will not hereafter uphold any capitalist cut and dried methods of selecting committees or candidates." (Applause.)

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move its adoption.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee reports unfavorably upon the motion. It reports unfavorably because of the impossibility of ever enforcing such a motion. (Applause.) There is no method known to your committee whereby any two or more delegates can be prevented from agreeing upon a certain course of action in the convention. (Applause.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I think we might give our expression of condemnation of such proceedings. The Socialists don't need to go into any of these side shows, and yet these things do creep into our convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report is before you, Gentlemen, what is your pleasure?

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): I move that the report of the committee be laid on the table.

Seconded.

The question was put on the motion and it was lost.

SECRETARY DOBBS: I move that the report of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move that the delegate presenting the resolution be given leave to withdraw.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate has had ample opportunity to do so if he desires it.

The question was then put to concur in the recommendation of the committee and the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

DEL. SPARGO: Next is a resolution by Delegate Dobbs of New York, as follows:

"Whereas, daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, the Socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication September 1st of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class.

Resolved that we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention assembled at Chicago, May 1st, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call, and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York Comrades having the enterprise in charge."

Your committee reports favorably upon the motion.

The adoption of the resolution was moved and seconded.

DEL. WILKINS (Cal.): I should like to know if this private enterprise is to be the property of the local.

DEL. SPARGO: No. Unfortunately there can be no such thing as property of the local, because the local is not a body recognized by law; therefore, the corporation has been formed of all of the members of the Social Democratic Party in the city who care to avail themselves of it, and none can ever belong to it but members of the Socialist party, and then it is provided that no interest shall ever at any time be paid upon the profits accruing from the enterprise.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): The acceptance of that resolution, isn't that almost the same as the official endorsement of a partisan press? Isn't that resolution out of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not out of order. As to whether this convention is overstepping its authority when it recommends the establishment of such a paper, is a question of which the convention itself is the best judge.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Spargo, in this corporation when stock is held by members of the Socialist party, will one man have more influence and more votes than another?

DEL. SPARGO: No, sir.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I would consider that that is perfectly in order, but nevertheless I would like to call your attention to one point, the growing need of a national organ, and we find it expressed right here, and sooner or later it will have to come. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Any further remarks upon the motion before us? The motion is that the report of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am heartily in favor of the motion, but I would suggest to the convention that we give like encouragement to any city in the country that can afford a daily along with this recommendation to help the comrades in New York. There are other cities in this Union to-day that need a daily paper for the propagation of the principles of Socialism, such as the city of Chicago and others. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to say, Comrades, first that the committee will accept the suggestion that we do give encouragement to any such effort in any part of the country, no matter where it may be; and in the second place your committee does not consider such a motion as an endorsement of a paper, but as an encouragement of an effort to establish a Socialist paper. There can be no such thing as the endorsement of a paper which does not exist. (Applause.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): If the convention wanted to control the paper, why New York would be the first to vote against it; it would refuse to surrender the control of that paper because we want the control of it. But, in order to encourage the comrades, we ought to pass this resolution, and we certainly ought not to hesitate to give them this encouragement. (Applause.)

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I simply want to say that there seems to be a disposition on the part of the comrades to think that our endorsement of this enterprise in New York is the same proposition we had last night of owning and operating a paper. I would be willing to give endorsement to any creditable Socialist paper, it does not make any difference what paper it is, and I hope the resolution will pass for that reason. It is an altogether different proposition from that of owning and operating a paper by the National Committee.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move the previous question.

Motion seconded and carried.

The question was then put on the adoption of the resolution as read, and the motion carried with only one dissenting vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: In reporting yesterday, I said that the committee would publish a statement sent by Local San Francisco. Unfortunately I have left it at the hotel and haven't it here at the convention in time to be printed. I have the statement here and will read it if desired, but your committee considers that since it has gone the rounds of the Socialist Papers and is not a matter which this convention can act upon in any manner, shape or form, that that particular statement with regard to Mayor Schmitz refusing to appoint a member of the Socialist Party on the Board of Election Commissioners had best be laid on the table unless the convention desires it read, which is all that Local San Francisco asks.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): I move that it be laid on the table.

Motion seconded. A vive voce vote was then taken and the result leaving the chair in doubt the motion was put to a rising vote and carried.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee asks for final action upon the resolutions presented yesterday which are before you in print. I presume I need not trouble to read the resolutions because you have them, but I desire on behalf of the committee to move the adoption of the resolution on the Russo-Japanese War.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps you had better read it.

DEL SPARGO: All right. The Chairman says on account of the audience and visitors that I had better read them. The resolution on the Russo-Japanese War is as follows:

"Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese War as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further,

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that the resolution be adopted and that we send copies to the Socialist press of Japan and Russia.

The motion was seconded, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

COMPENSATION OF SPEAKERS.

DEL. SPARGO: We have a resolution from the New Jersey delegation regarding the compensation of speakers and the engagement of speakers. It is as follows:

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-clut Socialism; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite pre-determined salary or fee."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee moves the adoption of that resolution as the expression of the opinion of this body.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is regularly moved and seconded that the report just read be the expression of the opinion of this body. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): I move you that it be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded, but on being put to a vive voce vote was lost.

A division was called for and a rising vote was taken, resulting in the motion being declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before us now is upon the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The question was then put on the adoption of the New Jersey resolution as read and the motion carrying, it was declared adopted.

The announcement of the adoption of the resolution met with hearty applause on the part of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

REGULATION OF SPEAKERS.

DEL. SPARGO: The next resolution is in regard to the following salaries and fees to be paid speakers. It is as follows:

"Whereas, exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and,

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it

Resolved that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents; and we

Recommend: That, as far as possible locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee reports favorably and moves the adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I want to say, Mr. Chairman and comrades, in reference to this resolution that there are some of our states in this country which are peculiarly situated with reference to carrying on propaganda meetings, and I want to say that in my own state, down there in Ohio, that we are one of those states. We have found out that the most successful meetings we can hold are on Sunday afternoon,

and it is a hard matter to get a suitable hall for Sunday afternoon in the smaller cities down there, as they are poorly supplied with suitable halls for propaganda meetings. It is not like the city of Chicago or some of the larger cities, and for that reason we are compelled to take what we can get for our meetings, and we cannot always get speakers when we want them, from the National Committee, and there may be times when in order to hold a good meeting we will have to pay what is termed here exorbitant prices, but if our local in that city sees fit to bear the expense of bringing the comrade there on the special occasion, I don't think they ought to be hampered with this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the committee will kindly explain the effect of that resolution.

DEL. SPARGO: The resolution is not mandatory upon any local or state in the country. It is purely the expression of the opinion of this convention. It doesn't say that this must be done upon all occasions, but that as far as possible in order to discourage these methods, speakers should be engaged through the national or state organizations. To meet the case mentioned by the delegate from Ohio, suppose that the locals to which he referred find that they could not get a speaker through the national committee, there would be no insuperable obstacle in getting him through the state committee, and after all it is not mandatory upon them; it is simply an expression of the opinion of the convention.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): In the statement made by the chairman of that committee I desire to ask the meaning of "exorbitant." Suppose Karl Marx were to be brought back here again. Would you consider one hundred dollars for a lecture from him exorbitant?

DEL. SPARGO: Yes, sir.

DEL. KEOWN: Or would you consider two dollars altogether too small?

DEL. STEDMAN: That is too much.

DEL. KEOWN: Now I have seen some speakers to whom I would gladly have given two hundred dollars not to hear. The comrades must admit that some Socialist party speakers do the movement more harm than we can imagine. Another thing, I do not believe that we can estimate the ability of a speaker either in a convention like this or in a local body. It is simply a matter which must be arranged between the local and the speaker. I am not in favor of putting any stipulation whatsoever on the amount that we are going to pay our speakers. Another thing, if we give our approval to any such thing as that, I claim it is just the same as a law. If you wish your servant to do something or your boss wishes his workingman to do anything, that is practically equivalent to a command to do it. If we write down our opposition to any such thing as that, I claim that is just the same as law. In using this word "opposed," I interpret it as a command from the convention. I am opposed absolutely to fixing the compensation of speakers. I believe that should be left to circumstances entirely, and to the local who calls for the speaker or to the state organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask for a further interpretation of this resolution by the chairman of the committee:

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee does not desire to argue the question raised by the last speaker except only to answer the question as to what we would consider an exorbitant salary or fee. It may be that in the case of some speakers it would be worth while to pay them two hundred dollars not to speak. (Laughter.) It may be quite true that five dollars would be exorbitant for some men. It is equally true that two hundred and fifty dollars a lecture is exorbitant for any man. (Applause.) It would be exorbitant even for Marx or for LaSalle if we could bring them back to talk to us. The delegate wishes to know what we would consider exorbitant for Comrade Marx. I tell the delegate that Karl Marx answered it himself when he said: "I will live and my family, upon the five dollars a week I can get while I am writing 'Capital' for the working class." (Loud applause.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I want to say just a word on this matter. My experience has been that where we have paid these exorbitant salaries it has exceeded the resources of the community. There are too many members who, when they try to get a speaker, select him not for the good he will do, but because they would like to see him and

get a chance to listen to his eloquent remarks, his flow of eloquence. When you have a man to come and make but one lecture, I care not how far his reputation may extend, he only for the moment makes a little excitement there and it becomes absolutely worthless unlss it can be followed up, and many times when you have spent a hundred dollars or two hundred dollars for one of those speakers the whole of their lecture has had to be preserved by the common soap box orators that get nothing whatever for their labor. (Applause.) We have been told time and again that it is the constant dropping of water that wears away the stone, and so it is with any of these great movements. It is not the frequent flashes of lightning that affect the cause, but it is the persistent and constant effort of the whole party, and we have many of our strongest workers amongst us that are never recognized. (Applause.) I hope that this will be adopted, for I think that it is necessary that there shall be some rebuke come from this body against the lavish expenditure of money that is absolutely eating away the vitality of the movement.

DEL. JOHNSON (Ia.): That is another one of those questions that might lead us into an eternal discussion like the one pertaining to the salary of the secretary, and I move the previous question.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. SLOBODIN: Is this matter not all stated in the constitution that we passed this afternoon?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair does not so understand it.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Where we left this in the hands of the Executive Committee to give us a rate that shall govern the price of speakers.

THE CHAIRMAN: This has to do with employing the speakers and recommends that the locals should engage their speakers and organizers as far as possible, through the state and national organizations.

DEL. SLOBODIN: From the nature of this question we are not going to hear from speakers who have no prospect of receiving pay from our constituency. You won't hear from Comrade Carey or from Comrade Hayes, you won't hear from any of the powerful orators of the convention. Now I am in that position, but I do most positively object to this resolution which means nothing more nor less than a resolution of condemnation upon our speakers. There may be an exceptional case to which it does not apply, but as a matter of fact generally the speakers are a much abused lot.

The previous question was moved, and the motion being seconded, it carried.

The adoption of the resolution as read was then put to a vive voce vote and the result being doubtful, a division was called for. A rising vote was then taken with the result that the resolution was declared adopted, the vote being as follows: Ayes, 65; Nays, 51.

REPORT UPON TRADE UNION RESOLUTIONS.

DEL. SPARGO: As the final part of our report, I have to report upon the four trades union resolutions which were referred back to our committee from the Trades Union Committee, through the convention yesterday. The committee debated at great length upon each of the four resolutions. We finally decided to report back to this convention as follows:

That in view of the fact that no matter how improperly the resolutions had been through the hands of another committee, had been reported favorably to this committe by that committee, as a committee we declined to make any counter or other recommendation after recommendations had been made by one committee by whom they were referred. That leaves the committee in this position: We did not desire to shrink from any responsibility that was properly ours, but we do say that in view of the circumstances under which the resolutions came to us, that as a committee we will make no recommendation whatsoever, and as individual members of the convention, that will leave us free to take whatever action we may see fit. That leaves the matter now in the hands of the convention. They can either take the resolutions under consideration or they can lay them upon the table as they may see fit. Your committee has nothing else to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions. It is now in order for this convention to act upon the report of the

Committee on Resolutions as a whole, and to take such other action as you see fit with regard to this committee. Delegate Carey has the floor.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I desire to have the Chairman make clear the exact status of the matters reported by the Committee on Resolutions, including its final statement through its chairman on the Trades Union proposition. I desire to know the exact status of the matters that he had said they declined to act upon; the exact status that they occupy in this convention if the report of the Committee on Resolutions is accepted and adopted as a whole. Not particularly so much because the Committee on Trades Unions needs the instruction, but because I wish to avoid unnecessary conflict.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair would say that the status of those resolutions is that they are precisely where they were before they went to the Committee on Resolutions. The Trades Union resolution is what you are asking about, isn't it? And the Chair would rule that the resolutions are precisely in the same position where they were before they were sent to the Committee on Resolutions. and all other matters upon which the Committee on Resolutions has acted are before this convention to act upon as a whole.

DEL. HAYES (O.): As I understand it, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the supplementary resolutions reported by the Trades Union Committee were, by a vote of this convention, referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Now this committee comes in here this evening and makes a report that is no report, and if I understand the Chair aright he rules that the resolutions are then still in the hands of the Trades Union committee. Am I correct?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, where they were before they were sent to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. HAYES: That the supplementary resolutions are now in our hands. I can take my oath that we haven't got them. (Laughter.) The resolutions, with all due respect to the Chair and the Committee of Resolutions, are in the hands of the Resolutions Committee, and if the Resolutions Committee desires to make its report it should do so without attempting to beat the devil around the stump, and if it is unable to handle the resolutions it should state so plainly and above board to this convention in order that this body may take the proper action to refer them back to the Trades Union Committee where they belong. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I would say for the information of Delegate Hayes that the Chair was asked the question as to the status of this resolution, and the Chair would again reiterate that the resolutions are precisely in the position they were before they were referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The Committee on Resolutions asks to be absolved from responsibility in the matter, owing to the peculiar circumstances under which they received them, and that is the status of these resolutions at this time under the Chair's ruling. The Chairman of Resolutions Committee asks to be heard and he has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: Comrades, your committee did not in the first place accept the resolutions. The resolutions came to us and we did discuss them. We discussed them at great length and we did find things that we could do. We found that at least we could write them in the English language, which they were not written in. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That we have a resolution that is now before us.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is not well taken. The Chairman of the committee is at liberty to make such remarks and cast such reflections upon this committee as the convention is willing to listen to.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan will take his seat. The chairman of the committee has the floor.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will get your information by the proceedings of this convention. Do you raise a point of order?

DEL. KERRIGAN: No, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you have no reason to rise at all. The Committee on Resolutions will proceed.

DEL. SPARGO: The resolutions are now in the hands of the Secretary of the convention, and if we are to be taunted that we are unable to do anything or that we were afraid to do anything, it is only right and proper to say in reply to that taunt that there was at least one thing we might have done. We did not do it, out of consideration for the feelings of Delegate Hayes and his associates. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. KEOWN: I wish to make a motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion in order while the delegate has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: Now then, Comrades, why did the committee decline to make any more specific report? I will tell you. Because the committee tried time and again, knowing well that a struggle lies before this convention, upon each of the four motions in that supplementary report, we tried time and again by conference with the members of the Trades Union Committee, to do something in the way of having prepared a decent substitute for the whole, and mark you well, the delegate that taunts us with being unable or unwilling to do anything, was unwilling to extend to the members of your committee even the ordinary courtesy of one man to another. Now, Comrades, we decline to shoulder all the responsibility of throwing this convention into a fight upon these matters. We say that you have no right to place that responsibility upon any one or more men in this committee. You have drawn up resolutions which are bound to be the source and center of a fight that is going to shake this convention to its very basis. It has come to the knowledge of the members of the Resolution Committee——

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Point of order; what is before the convention? Is there a motion before the convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Comrade Spargo that he will bring to a speedy close his report as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and leave out of consideration the methods or alleged methods of any members of any other committee.

DEL. SPARGO: I have finished. I simply say that when the committee was besieged from one side and from the other, and when they were brought face to face with all the prospective consequences of this matter, which ought to have come before us in the first place, but which went into the hands of another committee and which was then reported upon in a certain form by them and then referred to us and we are to be held responsible for the mistakes and the misdeeds of another committee, and we are not willing to accept that responsibility. (Applause.)

DEL. KEOWN: I move to submit now the resolution which I previously offered.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I move you that the report of the Resolutions Committee be adopted as a whole, and that the Trades Union resolutions then come before the house.

The motion was seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will now please read the first trades union resolution.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I desire to ask permission of this house in order to save time, if they will grant me just two minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. CAREY: For the purpose of proceeding in order on this Trades Union proposition. The Trades Union Committee has made its report and it is in print, the part that they referred to us. Now I would suggest that we act on the general proposition before we take up the specific resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Carey is entirely right. We have disposed of the Committee on Resolutions' work. The next unfinished business is the report of the Committee on Trades Unions, and if you desire now to take up the Committee on Trades Unions' report, if that is the next order of business, we will take it up from the beginning and the secretary will read first

of all the report made by the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I rise to a point of information. I should like to know as a matter of information whether this Committee on Resolutions has ceased to receive resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, and they will not until they have been discharged. They are still in existence, and if there is any resolution any delegate desires to introduce it will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and they will report upon it in due course.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I want to make a protest.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your protest is not in order; there is nothing in order but the secretary's reading. Please be in order. Take your seat. The secretary will now proceed with the reading of the Trades Union Committee's report.

DEL DEUTZMAN: I have a resolution that I want to offer.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you have an amendment to make upon the Trades Union resolutions it will not be in order until the original trades union resolutions are before this convention. Now please subside until we get the original resolutions before the convention. Then we will entertain your amendment.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I have more than an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you an amendment that you want to make?

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I desire, Mr. Chairman, to explain this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read. You will please keep your seat now unless you want to raise a point of order.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. DEUTZMAN: The point of order is this, that the Committee on Resolutions has not done its work because they referred one resolution which is printed; they did not report on it. Therefore, before proceeding further that resolution is before us and not the trades union resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that the point of order is not well taken. If at any future meeting of this convention when we reach the order of business of the Committee on Resolutions, if the Committee on Resolutions fails to report your resolution, you may call upon them to report your resolution or give reasons why they do not do so. For this evening's session we have passed the Committee on Resolutions by formal vote, and have decided to take up the Committee on Trades Union report, and that is the next thing in order.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State it briefly.

DEL. SPARGO: Briefly it is this: That in rendering the report of the committee, I overlooked that resolution, as I explained to the delegates, but I told them it would come before the convention in due course.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the report of the Trades Union Committee.

THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTIONS.

THE SECRETARY (Reading):

"The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class takes possession of the means of productions and distribution and establishes their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trades union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assist and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trades and labor

unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report of the Committee on Trades Unions. What is your pleasure?

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. The hour of adjournment has arrived, and a motion to adjourn is the next thing in order unless we suspend the rules and continue the meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carr makes the point of order that the hour of adjournment has arrived. The Chair rules that the point of order is well taken. The hour of adjournment is here. What is your pleasure, gentlemen?

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I move that we suspend the rules and that the convention continue in session for one hour longer.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I rise to move the striking out from this Trades Union resolution all of those words beginning with "Political differences of opinion," and ending with "industrial movement." "Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement." I move that that be stricken out.

Motion seconded.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I wish to offer another amendment: instead of striking out that part, I wish to add to it, after the word "movement," the following: "any more than differences of opinion as to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement."

The motion was seconded.

At the request of a delegate, the secretary then read the clause as it would stand as last amended, as follows:

"Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement, any more than differences of opinion as to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I rise to make an amendment that we lay this report on the table, and I wish to speak in support of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the delegate from Oregon that a motion to lay on the table is not debatable.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Delegates: The very fact that delegates on the floor of the Socialist convention can take the floor and move to lay such an important resolution on the table, shows the necessity of bringing this matter before the convention. It shows that it has become necessary for the trades unions to get into the Socialist Party and teach the Socialist party a little unionism. (Loud applause.) We have always claimed that we have a monopoly on the social science, on the wisdom in the labor movement. We have always looked down upon the poor trades unionist. We went to a Socialist meeting. We secured a five cent Socialist pamphlet. We read half of that pamphlet and we did not understand the half which we read, and then we went out and informed the rank and file of the trades unionists what they must do and what they must not do; we informed them how wise we were and how foolish they were. I believe the time has come when the Socialist Party can no longer hide itself behind empty phrases, when the Socialist Party must come out clearly and positively and state its position towards the trades union movement. I want to inform you that we cannot be a success without the labor movement. There cannot be a successful Socialist movement without a successful trades union movement. (Cries of "Hear, hear" and loud applause.) The trades union movement must be the back bone of the Socialist Party.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order please,

until we learn the delegate's point of order.

DEL. SPEARS: My point of order is that the comrade is not speaking to the motion to strike out, but upon the merits.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is perfectly in order if he speaks upon the general merits of the question before the house.

DEL. HOEHN: I should like to inform our friends from Illinois and especially from Chicago, that this trades union question cannot be settled by points of order. (Loud cheering and applause.) This trades union question is up before the Socialist convention, and it must be settled and must be settled right. I have said that the trades union movement must be the backbone of the Socialist Party, and I may add that the Socialist Party must be the backbone of the trades union movement. (Loud applause.) Herr Kautsky, one of the leading authorities on international Socialism, said in one of his books, "The labor movement is the foundation of Social Democracy," and if the Socialists do not realize this fact, if they fail to recognize and understand this fact, Socialist Democracy will go to pieces because it will not fulfil its mission. It is our duty as Socialists, as representatives of the Socialist Party, to organize the proletariat. It is our duty to organize the working class, not only politically but economically as well. (Cries of "Right," and loud applause.) I wish now to ask you whether the trades unionists of Colorado, the members of the Western Federation of Miners and the members of the United Mine Workers in Colorado, whether those brave boys are not fighting an heroic battle for the cause of liberty? They are fighting the greatest struggle of the American proletariat to-day, and it will not do for us to stand here and tell those boys, "Stop your struggle; stop your fight; your trades unions won't help you any."

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I want to call the attention of the chairman to the fact that the comrade is overstepping his time.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are mistaken. The delegate has two minutes left. Do not eat up his time. Delegate Hoehn will proceed.

DEL. HOEHN: If I were to undertake such a position as that, I would be ashamed of myself. I say no: as Socialists it is our duty to get right into this fight and help those boys in their economic struggle and do all we can to help win that battle for the eight hour law in Colorado, and the battle for free speech. (Applause.)

Several delegates endeavored to obtain the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Ott of Wyoming has the floor.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I ask to call up my resolution that has been submitted to the secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it an amendment to the proposition before the house?

DEL. OTT: Yes, sir, it is a substitute for the proposition before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will kindly read it.

SUBSTITUTE FOR TRADES UNION RESOLUTIONS.

The substitute offered by Delegate Ott was then read by the secretary as follows:

"In view of the fact that the Trades Union resolution as adopted by the Unity Convention of Indianapolis, Indiana, is wholly inadequate to meet the conditions representing themselves in results of recent occurrences in the trades union movement; and

Whereas, the Socialist Party as the party of the working class, recognizes the class struggle within society as the active force in lining up the workers of the world in the militant organizations for the struggle of emancipation from wage slavery, politically in the Socialist Party, and economically in such organizations as are used as instruments of the class struggle to the end of overthrowing the capitalistic system of society, and

Whereas, several economic organizations of labor have combined with capital in harmony-of-interest combinations, with the object of obscuring the issue and leading the working class astray to perform yeoman duties for capitalization and the prevailing order of things;

Therefore, be it Resolved by this Convention, that the Socialist Party, recognizing the necessity of organization in economic fields as a weapon for the defense of the workers against the capitalists' encroachments, it also

recognizes the fact that in line with the declarations of all Socialist parties throughout the world, the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructing force for the conduct of industries in a Socialist commonwealth;

The Socialist Party, therefore, urges and appeals to the members of the working class that they join such industrial unions on economic lines as will band together the workers in a common and tight bond of solidarity, in which they will not be divided and split asunder by the conflicting interests of craft and guild divisions, and which also aim at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth by combined political and economic action upon the lines of the class struggle, both the political and economic organizations to be used as instruments and means to that end.

The Socialist Party also wishes to denounce before the workers of this land the treacherous, deceitful work of the conglomeration between several labor leaders so-called, and the capitains of industry such as the National Civic Federation and other like institutions, and brand these federations as instruments of the capitalist class to perpetuate the system of to-day, and to use organized labor as tools for that purpose."

DEL. OTT: Mr. Chairman and Representatives and Brothers and Sisters: I would state that the pages read by the secretary are about in the same order as the German declaration in regard to trades unionism. The solidarity of trades unionism and Socialism must be defined; the co-operation of the two is essential. We must help to organize the economic field in order to become strong ourselves and so aid the workers of the country in their struggle for advancement. We must assist in every way possible to organize the laboring class of the country against the onslaught of capitalism, which is our aim, because if we accomplish that in a thorough manner, such as is indicated by this resolution, there is no doubt that Socialism will at once have attained the greatest step in the history of the Socialist Party. I will ask the adoption of this resolution because of its impartiality to any one. It covers the field thoroughly from our standpoint, it cannot be impeached, and we have the right, and claim that right, that each of us shall assist the laboring men of the country to organize themselves, to band themselves together for their own personal improvement and advancement; for the doing away of these chains bound about them by the capitalists; for breaking the fetters with which they hold in bondage these men and women, millions of workers in the country, and now for that purpose I offer this resolution, which is certainly explicit and to the point, and which I hope will be read again so everybody will understand it, and I hope it will pass in order that we may be able to be ready at any time to fight the battle.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I would not consider myself a Socialist if I kept my seat to-night and did not at least protest against this body taking up this matter. I want it distinctly understood that I speak for my own self, that I personally consider it completely out of order to bring such a proposition before a Socialist convention. (Applause.) As class conscious revolutionary Socialists —yes, I use the combined term—we have no business with those temporary movements. (Applause.) If Socialism stands for anything it stands for what it professes to stand for, and that is the complete breaking down of the present system. (Loud applause and cheering.) The trades unions of this country represent nothing more than a slight reform over present conditions (applause), and as a reform movement it has no place in the propaganda of Socialism. (Cries of "Good" and prolonged applause.) We have long enough dallied with those reform movements of different kinds and our constitution last year was the laughing stock of the intelligent Socialists of the country. We got that platform so mixed and tangled up that we hardly knew what we did stand for ourselves. (Laughter and applause.) The trades unionists have never helped the Socialist Party, and you know that that is true. (Loud cheering and applause.) The Trades Unionist is leaning upon his little crutch and until that crutch is broken entirely under him, he will have to lean upon it, whether we preach Socialism or not. (Cries of "Good" and prolonged applause.) I saw this beautifully illustrated, Comrade Chairman, in British Columbia last fall. I

went through as the speaker in the campaign—that five weeks' campaign last fall in British Columbia. The campaign followed on the heels of a strike that had been universal throughout British Columbia, the gold mines and everywhere else. They lost in all parts of the province until we as Socialists came into that campaign and we pointed out to them what we stood for, which was the annihilation of the wage system, and pointed the way clearly to the changing of the system as the only remedy for their suffering—they had already had the example of the inefficiency of the strike, it failing them, and the result was after the crutch of the strike had been broken under them, they rushed to our banner and gladly espoused the Socialist Cause. (Loud and long continued applause.) Now, Comrade Chairman, in conclusion let me say that the moment that the Socialist Party of the United States steps out upon a clear class-conscious platform of its own, and frees its skirts from all these petty movements (Cries of "Hear, hear!") then we will begin to move forward and to grow. (Tumultous cheering and applause.)

Several delegates here endeavored to obtain the floor and the Chairman recognized Delegate Brandt of Missouri.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt of St. Louis has the floor.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. KEOWN: I object to this manner of conducting business here; there is so much noise in the hall that not one delegate in ten can hear.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will come to order.

DEL. KEOWN: I submit that this is a regularly elected convention, and I object to these people in the gallery making noises and trying to sway the feelings of the delegates to this convention. (Loud hissing and cat calls.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Massachusetts is clearly within his rights when he makes the statement that he has made. It may not have been true, but he was certainly justified if he thought it was true. So long as a delegate thinks that the audience of men in the gallery are endeavoring to create a demonstration here, he is clearly within his rights to make a protest. It comes with ill grace from the delegates to this convention to abuse the delegate from Massachusetts for making that perfectly legitimate protest. (Applause.) I shall insist that the most thorough principles of democracy be observed in this convention and that the doors of this convention be thrown wide open to any visitor that cares to come in, but we will not permit that privilege to be abused, and the audience will kindly take notice that they will be required to look at this particular circus and not to participate in it. (Laughter and applause.) Delegate Brandt has the floor.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I am not going to appeal to your prejudices nor to your party principles here to-night, but I am going to speak to you as one who has been a member of a trades union for nearly seventeen years, and one who has been a member of the Socialist Party movement ever since it was possible for a trades unionist to honestly come into a Socialist Party movement, in 1897. A speaker before has stated that the minute this Socialist Party breaks clear of this trades union nonsense and breaks clear of this immediate demand proposition we will amount to something. (Applause.) There was a Socialist Party prior to ours in this country, and the minute that they broke loose from the actual interests of the working man as he is on the streets and in the mines and in the factory and in the mill to-day, the minute that party broke loose from those interests, that party sunk into oblivion. (Loud applause.) That party is dead, and I am no pessimist and I claim to be as good a Socialist as any man in this hall, but I say this without the thought of wanting to be an evil prophet or a pessimist, follow that course and ignore the teachings of the Socialist movement internationally, and I say that you will fall into the same depths of degradation and to the same place which they sunk to. You don't want to take up this trades union movement, do you? (Cries of "No, no.") Then I will tell you something: You believe in International Socialism, do you? You are followers of it? Well, then, eat a little crow; listen while I read. I have here an article that was written in the *International*

Socialist Review, published here in Chicago, that I want to read you.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. HAWKINS: Are we here to discuss the merits of Trades Unionism or Socialism?

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is entirely out of order. You are out of order. Take your seat.

DEL. DALTON: I rise to a point of order. I ask that the Chair prevent any delegate from speaking to a delegate who has the floor, without first having gained permission of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is wholly right and he in the first place can assist us by carrying out that rule. Comrade Brandt has the floor and he will proceed.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I hope you will not take that interruption from my time. I want to read you an article from the April number of the *International Socialist Review,* a resolution that was adopted by the London Congress of Socialists. The resolution reads as follows: "The trade union struggle of the wage workers is indispensable, in order to resist the encroachments of Capitalism and to improve the conditions of Labor under the present system. Without trade unions no fair wages and no shorter hours of labor."

DEL. McEACHERN (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I desire to ask the delegate a question.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the delegate agrees to yield you the floor you may do so.

DEL. BRANDT: I will stop at any time to answer any question if it is not taken off of my ten minutes' time.

DEL. McEACHERN: I would like to ask the delegate if that is from the Fabian Society or from the Socialist movement.

DEL. BRANDT: You will draw your own conclusions if you will allow me to read it, and I believe I can pronounce all the words in this resolution correctly. "However, this economic struggle only lessens the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will cease when society takes possession of the means of production. This is conditioned on the creation of a system of legislative measures. To fully carry out these measures the working class must become the deciding political power. However, the working class will only become such a political power in the same ratio as its organization, the trade union, grows. By the very organization into trade unions the working class becomes a political factor.

"The organization of the working class is incomplete and insufficient so long as it is only political.

"But the economic (trade union) struggle also requires the political activity of the working class. Very often the working men have to assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the free economic struggle. In other cases the legislative gains make economic conflicts by trade union action superfluous. The international cooperation of the working class on the trade union lines, especially in regard to labor legislation, becomes more necessary in the same degree as the economic relations of the capitalistic world's market and the conflicts of the national industries develope.

"In accordance with the decision of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels and Zurich, this congress declares that the organization of trades unions is an absolute necessity in the struggle of emancipation of the working class, and we consider it as the duty of all wage workers who aim at the emancipation of labor from capitalist wage slavery to join the union of their respective trade.

"The trade unions, in order to do effective work, shall be nationally organized and the splitting up of the elements in separate organizations is to be condemned. Political differences of opinion shall not be a cause for dividing or splitting up the forces in the economic struggle, but the proletarian class struggle makes it the duty for the labor organizations to educate their members in Socialist principles." (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I believe in Socialism; I believe in the International Socialist movement; I believe in the Socialist Party of America, but I will tell you one thing, that I also believe in, and that is I believe there is

a labor movement throughout the whole world, and when I say that I am speaking conservatively. I want to say to you delegates in this convention that you may laugh and you did laugh a while ago at some of the expressions that were made here, and I know the reflections of some of you who have heard the arguments here upon this floor and the utterances upon this floor, but I want to bring one thing home to you. I want some of you people who take the opposite stand to this to contradict it on this floor to-night and I am going to tell you what that is, I am going to say this to you: You have got a Socialist Party movement in Milwaukee and it is a working class movement. You haven't any reform or union labor party movement there. (Applause.) You have a Socialist party movement in Massachusetts.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): The gentleman is exceeding his time.

THE CHAIRMAN: He has a half minute to close. Don't take a minute of his time.

DEL. BICKETT: Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Please be in order and allow the delegate to finish his half minute.

DEL. BRANDT: You have got a Socialist Party in Massachusetts that has accomplished results, and in this closing half minute which I have got I want to bring this home to you, that you cannot show me a single instance in the American Socialist movement where the Socialist Party has got right down to the field of action and defined the interests of the working man to-day as well as in the future, where any reform movement has sprung up, as there has been where you people have ignored this class struggle which is going on to-day in every vicinity, including the city we are in.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Morgan will please take the Chair.

Delegate Morgan here assumed the Chair.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Delegate Sieverman has the floor.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: This has been a most strenuous day, and now I am addressing you not as Chairman but as a delegate.

DEL. BICKETT: Point of order.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): Sit down.

DEL. BICKETT: I don't have to sit down.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I have been approached by a number of delegates—

DEL. BICKETT: Comrade Chairman.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: Will the Delegate from Ohio please keep quiet?

DEL. BICKETT: Are you Chairman or Speaker?

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I say, I have been approached by a number of delegates to-day and I have been told that I have saved this convention quite a few hours, and while I am not so sure that I have done so, I am going to ask you to give me just a few minutes, that is, you decent delegates who are here. (Applause.) There are some delegates here that don't know and would not understand the laws of decency.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Mr. Chairman, I protest against such language being used here.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: I would suggest that the delegate be in order and then I would suggest that the speaker restrain himself.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: The speaker stands corrected, but he would remind you, however, that he would not have used the language unless he had known of the truth of his statement. I rise to speak in defense of the committee's report. I think I will have to fight my way through. I want to say as a preliminary proposition that it is the easiest thing on earth for a member of a trades union who is a Socialist to attend his trades union meetings and find himself in conflict with the controlling elements on the floor of that trades union, and finding himself worsted by reason of the superior number of the enemy, he then becomes disgusted and quits activity in the trades union movement, dividing his future course with reference to the trades union movement upon a purely local incident; and being completely disgusted with his experience, he comes into a National Socialist convention to ask that convention to adopt or refuse to adopt resolutions that have to do with a great economic movement, without having any greater support behind him,

so far as he is concerned, than his individual experience in his own local movement, which is more often than not the result of a degree of lethargy and want of enterprise. (Loud applause.) There is no lack of material to prove that in the trades union movement there are corruptionists galore, nor is there any lack of material to prove that if the Socialist trades unionists were to take a keener, more active and a more thorough interest in their trades unions, that these corrupt elements would be sooner or later driven out of the trades union field. (Applause.) And, I want to remind you comrades, that coming into this convention thus prompted by local experience hardly does credit to us. We have asked ourselves the question, "What is the trades union movement?" How comfortable the reflection of the delegate from Oregon that it is a crutch; a crutch upon which labor leans, and the quicker it breaks the better for the invalid, as illustrated in British Columbia. What a shallow and what a superficial knowledge of the trades union movement that statement betrays. (Applause.) And the charge fits every delegate here who so enthusiastically approved and gave demonstration of approval of that statement. What is the trades union movement? It is the concrete effort of the working class to wrest concessions, to wrest material advantages from the capitalist class that they do not now possess. How do they develop? Is that sign of the American flag still here? Is that flag here that has been desecrated by the enumeration of the ills and the tyrannies that have been practiced upon the organized working men? That tells the tale in the graphic language of the conflict between capital and labor. (Applause.) Here is labor leaning on a crutch in the east, in the west, in the north, everywhere; where they get the opportunity they contest the field with capital. They declare that insofar as by their numerical strength they may make it possible, they will wrest better conditions from the capitalist class. Not so in the south. The crutch is not in evidence south of Mason and Dixon's line. (Applause.) South of Mason and Dixon's line the modern wage slave, like the chattel slave before the war, has no protest to make. Like the chattel slave before the war, willingly he bares his back to the lash of capitalist oppression. (Loud applause.) In the south this crutch is not in evidence, and what is the status of the labor question in the south as viewed through the eyeglasses of the Socialist? Is there anywhere in this country a portion, is there anywhere in this country a spectacle that may so fill us with discouragement, that may so send the chills of pessimism up and down our back as the conditions that prevail in the labor field in the south? (Loud applause.) Oh, delegates, this trades union movement is the economic expression of the working class in the economic field. (Applause.) You cannot ignore this fact out of existence. This conflict is here. You, as the chosen, the self-appointed champions, if you please, of the interests of the working class, you cannot escape going on record for or against the working class in their struggle with capital. (Prolonged applause.) You may hide behind whatever subterfuge you elect, but the trades unionists upon this field will drag you forth and will make you take a stand for or against labor in this economic field. (Loud cheering and applause.) This is not altogether, at least not yet, a party of academics. (Cries of "Good," and applause.) We, who compose the Trades Union Committee, may not be able to write resolutions in choice English, we don't wear any college-granted initials before or after our names, (applause), but we know something (applause) about eating dust; we know something about standing to the machine when the shriek of the factory whistles summons us from our bedside; we know something about the evils that visit the working class, not as the result of theoretical speculation, or of philosophic academic treatises upon the subject. (Loud applause) No! We learned in the school of bitter experiences, and we better than anyone else appreciate the motives, the ideals, and the aspirations that govern and prompt the working class. Come to us, you college-bred Socialists. (Laughter and applause.) Go to school to us and we will tell you something about what the working class wants and that is a working class platform all the year round. (Prolonged cheering and applause).

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Comrade

Chairman: Underneath this great question there is a philosophy. There exists in the United States to-day a great economic force. It is the dominating force, it is the controlling force in society; that force is capitalism. Now let me tell you, comrades, there is a force which you cannot meet with a mere theory. You have got to meet that upon the actual, practical field of the battle of life. (Applause.) Before you can supplant capitalism as the dominating economic force in the United States, you must fit the laboring class to supersede it in its mission. It is not a matter of sentiment; it is a matter of cold, hard fact. The working man to be fit to survive in the economy of society must build himself up, and he must build himself up from the very bottom. Comrades, we propose an industrial state, do we not? We propose an industrial state. What does that mean? It means that every working man in the United States shall be organized first in his craft and then in his class as a workingman, through many graduations, through much labor, through much study. I can imagine, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, an industrial state, but I cannot imagine possible an industrial state controlled by politicians, not even by Socialist politicians. (Applause.) There is something the trades union association is creating. It is growing and fitting itself for what? The individual cannot step into the Socialist state except through the organization of his craft and the Socialist state can never come, never in God's world, without going through the collective training and the association of interests which the trades union gives. They cannot, except through that, reach to the Socialist state. Now we are building an industrial state. In that state the working man, the producer of the wealth of all classes, will be the dominant influence, and it will come through the trades unions. Let me say to you, friends, the co-operative commonwealth never can come through a political organization. It must come through the organization of the trades, and it is coming that way. Now I do not know that I make myself clear upon this. I have little use for politics or politicians.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order so you can receive attention.

DEL. LAMB: Is my time up, Comrade Chairman?

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: No, Comrade, I will call upon you when your time is up.

DEL. LAMB: I have little use for politicians of any kind, except as they may educate, but the real educator in the Socialist ranks will understand that the unit of the co-operative commonwealth after the individual, is the organized industry, and only those who operate the machines can organize that industry. I presume I may be followed by those who can treat of this subject better than I do.

Several delegates here endeavored to obtain the floor. The Chairman recognized Delegate Hayes.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Comrade Chairman, I suggest that a member on one side be given the floor and then a member on the other side.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Delegate Hayes has the floor.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): Point of order.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: What is it?

DEL. COLLINS: I make the same suggestion as that made by the comrade from Ohio, that one delegate on each side be given the floor.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Well, as there has been no rule established and it is near quitting time, we won't stop to make new rules. Delegate Hayes has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (O.): Mr. Chairman, I don't know but what I will probably need less than ten minutes. I was in hopes that the author of the amendment to cut out the sentence that "political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement," would have taken the floor and defended his position upon that proposition. Now having made his defense, I will take the aggressive in the brief time that is allotted to me and make the statement as emphatically as I can, that despite the fact that the history of our movement, national and international, has been, from the day of Marx and La Salle down to date, that the writers have called upon the workers of all countries to unite and throw off the chains of bondage, I say despite

that fact a grand philosopher comes before us here to-night and attempts to cut out that part with reference to other political parties except our own with which the working class may be briefly identified under our present system. The working class of the United States is composed, it is true, of Republicans, of Democrats, of Socialists, Single-taxers and perhaps many other political parties and factions, but even though the men of the old parties, our brethren in the shops and the factories and the mines may be identified with these parties, unconsciously they are struggling against the capitalist class which is turning their muscle and their blood into profits and rolling them up in hundreds of millions of dollars a year. (Applause.) And, the only place that they have through which to give expression of this almost, apparently hopeless struggle, is in the trades union movement as organized at present. Men may rail at and denounce the trades union movement, and while I am not of the opinion that any great number of Socialists do so, still I say there may be an individual here and there who will come into a convention of this kind for the purpose of causing internal dissension, but I say to you whatever dissentions may be raised, I say to you that the trades union movement will survive all of the criticisms and denunciations that may be heaped upon it by the capitalists on one side or the traitors in labor's ranks upon the other side. (Loud applause.) We of the trades union movement, those of us who belong to organized labor, are constantly in the forefront of the great battle that is waging in this country. Our battle does not last one day, or one week, or one month, or one year, but it goes on and on until one side or the other wins. (Applause.) If we surrendered our trades unions and placed our dependence solely upon the casting of a ballot once or twice a year, the working class of this country would be in deeper misery than it is to-day (applause) and it is only because of the resisting power (applause), it is only because of the resisting power of the workers in the industrial field that we have secured some concessions, slight as they may be. All in fact that the workers have secured has not been gained by political movements, has not been gained through the old parties, but has been won despite the opposition of the old parties, and, consequently, it is our duty to bring the trades unionists in line with the Socialist Party and attempt to accomplish politically what we are aiming to do now industriously. (Loud applause.) There is one more point I wish to refer to.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have one minute left.

DEL. HAYES: The statement of the lady delegate, of the comrade from Oregon, who said that she was in British Columbia where a battle had been waged unsuccessfully upon the industrial field, and after they had gone down into defeat they rallied to the standard of the Socialist party and won. Yes, I grant that that is true. But if the men had not been organized, if the men would not have made a fight, you would not have won. (Prolonged applause.)

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The time for adjournment has now arrived.

Motion was made to suspend the rules and continue in session for an hour, but the motion failed for want of a second.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): I make a motion that we continue in session until this matter is settled.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is made and regularly seconded that we continue in session until this subject matter is settled. Are you prepared to receive amendments to that motion?

A DELEGATE: I move that the time be extended one hour.

A DELEGATE: I move to lay on the table.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Motion is made that it be laid on the table. Are there any seconds to that motion.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I move that we extend the time of adjournment one hour.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to submit to the delegates a suggestion that I have and if the delegates will listen I am quite sure that they will agree with me.

A DELEGATE: Mr. Chairman, some of us are getting tired and I think that the question of continuing

later this evening should be discussed a little before a vote is taken.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is not in order. Comrade Carey has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: What I desire to state is this: That it is clearly apparent that a good many of these members have not attended their trades union meetings, else they would have better knowledge of parliamentary procedure and would keep quieter. (Laughter.) But, Comrades, I desire to state this, that there are some of us who consider this matter to be of more importance than others would consider it, and I believe that in the mood which this convention is in to-night, that we are in no condition to give serious attention to the subject before the house. (Applause.) I believe, Comrades, that if we adjourn now and sleep over it, that we will come in to-morrow and have a better time and be better fitted to take proper action on this matter. (Applause.) Mr. Chairman, would you accept a motion to adjourn?

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: There is a motion already before the house to extend the time until half past eleven, one hour. You will either have to amend that or vote it down.

DEL. SEIVERMAN: Lay it on the table.

DEL. CAREY: Comrade Delegate, whatever may be our particular opinions on this subject, I want to appeal to you as one of those unhappy agitators for the Socialist Party, I want to appeal to you that this question is of too much importance to be settled to-night or hurried through to-night in the mood we are in.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I move to adjourn at this time, or to give ten minutes' discussion to this subject on each side and then adjourn; or if that is not agreeable, I am willing to adjourn, but I insist that I be heard upon this proposition.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The motion before us is, Comrade Delegates, that we continue this session until half past eleven. That has not been amended.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to amend.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Comrade Spargo has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: I beg to move as an amendment that we continue the discussion for ten minutes only and then we do adjourn until nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I want to speak on the amendment.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I want to speak on that amendment and I hope that I will be granted the courtesy of this convention to be given the floor at least once in a while. I have not had the floor but two minutes this whole day. (Laughter.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

Several other delegates endeavored to obtain the floor.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Now your Chairman is about as stubborn as anybody in this hall and I will not recognize anybody until we have order.

DEL. LUCAS: Question of privilege.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: There is no question of privilege proper at this time.

DEL. LUCAS: Yes there is. I just want to make a suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The delegate will be seated. Delegate Farrell has the floor.

DEL. LUCAS: I have a right to make a suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Be seated; you are out of order. Delegate Farrell has the floor.

DEL. FARRELL: As a member of this convention——

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: You must speak to the amendment.

DEL. FARRELL: I am going to speak to the amendment and to the business before the house.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: No, you are to speak to the amendment.

DEL. FARRELL: To the amendment, yes, that is before the house. I want to say, Comrades, that as a trades unionist and as a Socialist and as one that is not possessed with any more than the usual physical power, I feel that I am in a position to stay here to-night to settle this all important question. I feel that this convention needs the settling of this question to-night.

I want to say that I have, since this matter was brought out, had a resolution in my hands as an amendment and I wanted to place it before the house, as I believe it will settle this whole proposition; not as a condemnation of the trades union movement——

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The delegate will be in order. He will speak to the amendment to adjourn in ten minutes.

DEL. FARRELL: All right. I hold that it is to the interest of this convention, and to the interest of the Socialist Party, that this convention be continued at least for one hour more to-night, in an endeavor to settle this question, and for that reason I will vote in favor of extending the time one hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills has the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Now, Comrades, I want this motion to adjourn in ten minutes to carry, and for a number of reasons. I want to speak on this question myself. I know twenty other men who want to speak on this question to-night, and they want to speak very badly, and a good number of us are getting a little bit excited. For my part, I do not want to speak to-night. I want the comrades who are in this hall now to adjourn and to go home and go to bed and come back in the morning with the determination that we will speak on this matter without excitement, deliberately and carefully, and decide it as a deliberative body ought to decide a great question such as this is. (Applause.)

DEL. DUCAS (Minn.): All I want to say is this, that in order to settle this we should have equal time to discuss this, and I ask that the time be divided on each side equally.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The deleagte is out of order.

It was moved and seconded that the debate be closed. Motion carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes on the motion that this session be extended ten minutes and that we then adjourn until nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

The question was put and the motion carried.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I desire to move that an equal number of speakers, if they so desire, on the opposite side to those who have already spoken, be heard to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Will Comrade Spargo please state the motion again?

DEL. SPARGO: Comrade Chairman, I say that although I myself desire to speak on the motion, yet in view of the fact that a considerable number of delegates desire to speak on the other side, that upon the opening of the convention to-morrow, if they so desire, an equal number against the motion ought to be heard before any speakers in favor of it be heard, and that, thereafter, they be heard one on each side.

The motion was seconded and carried.

On motion, the convention then adjourned until nine o'clock, Thursday, May 5, 1904.

FIFTH DAY'S SESSION

Secretary Dobbs called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and called for nominations for chairman for the day.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I move the nomination of the chairman of yesterday. We have had a chairman who has ruled so completely that I renominate Chairman Sieverman.

The following other nominations were made:

Stedman (Ill.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
W. W. Wilkins, (Cal.) by Irene Smith (Ore.).
Barnes (Pa.), by Collins (Ill.).
Bandlow (Ohio), by Berger (Wis.).
Mailly (Neb.), by Hillquit (N. Y.).

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to state for Comrade Sieverman that he cannot be here this morning.

THE SECRETARY: Are there any further nominations?

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I move that we proceed to elect. Motion seconded and carried.

Wilkins and Barnes declined.

The Secretary called for a rising vote on the three remaining candidates, and it resulted as follows: Stedman, 48; Mailly, 55; Bandlow, 7. Delegate Mailly was declared elected and took the chair.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman:

Rose (Miss.), by Berger (Wis.).
Stedman (Ill.), by White (Mass.).
Barnes (Pa.), by Hillquit (N. Y.).
Southworth (Colo.), by Cogswell (Kan.).
Bandlow (Ohio), by ——
Behrens (Mo.), by ——

On motion the nominations were closed.

Rose, Stedman, Barnes, Southworth and Bandlow declined, and Delegate Behrens being the only candidate, was unanimously elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the order of business.

THE SECRETARY: We adjourned upon the Trades Union resolutions. Four have spoken favorable to the resolutions, and it was understood that four on the other side would be given time to speak, and then after that there would be an equal division of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am informed by the Secretary that the debate upon the Trades Union resolutions was not closed last night. I was not present, so I did not know the status of affairs. I am informed that it was agreed that four speakers in the affirmative having spoken in favor of the resolutions, four should have the floor against.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to take a vote on this resolution at 11 o'clock. Seconded.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): To my mind, the only business which we have is to arrive at a conclusion in regard to which side will win.

DEL. WILKINS (Cal.): Is the substitute resolution that we have before us the trades union resolution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. WILKINS: I was not here last night, and I want the substitute read.

DEL. HANFORD: There is a mo tion before the house now, and the gentleman cannot rise to a point of information. There is a question before the house now, which is that we proceed to vote at 11 o'clock. It is to that motion I am now talking, and I do not know why the delegates here should not be aware of it or be in a position to ask information upon it. I merely want to talk briefly to the proposition that we proceed to vote at 11 o'clock. Regardless of what the result of this vote may be, notwithstanding the fact that I am prepared to vote and I know many others here are, to my mind it is important to this body that on any

practical question which arises we should get the opinions of comrades on both sides of that question at least, and we should not move the previous question until each side has been heard to the limit. I want to see this convention accomplish the remainder of its work in the shortest possible manner, but, Mr. Chairman, I have a volume here which tells me what it is to cut off debate, and which tells me what it is, regardless of the fact that you may have a majority on your side, to get away from the proposition simply because you can. This is a proposition on which we want, not to discuss the personality of various people on different sides of the question, but to discuss the merits of the question and we will not be satisfied with the discussion of the merits of the question until every delegate here who has something to say has been heard. The point I wish to make is this: If we do discuss the question fully, and if instead of discussing each other, we confine ourselves to the merits of the question, then whatever decision is made, we can expect unanimity in the support of it. But if, instead of that, we go into a consideration of this man's past and that man's future, it will lead us away from an effort to reach the intelligence of the comrades not by a mere majority conclusion, whatever it may be, but a practically unanimous conclusion, by the enlightenment of the comrades on this question, something which we all need, every one of us.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Reasoning from the premises of Comrade Hanford, we should never adopt the previous question until every delegate who wants to be heard on the particular question has been heard. We want to transact some business. We have been learning something about the proposition before us. It was discussed for two hours at least yesterday, and we have two hours before us to discuss it yet, and I think we should proceed to vote upon this proposition. I move to amend that we vote not later than 11 o'clock, if you will permit, and there is no objection.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the motion will be amended to read "Not later than 11 o'clock."

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I have not occupied much time, but I want to suggest a question on this motion. There are two propositions before this convention. The first thing we should decide is this: Shall this convention formulate an expression of the relations, or attitude, rather, of the Socialist Party towards trade unions? That is the first question, and that is the one that has been debated so far entirely. Now, let us grant, for the sake of argument, that that is carried in the affirmative. Then the next question is, what shall be the formulated expression? What shall constitute the resolution? Gentlemen, tell us here, and perhaps they are right—I am not here to deny it—that people say that if we fail to formulate an expression, this movement goes to pieces. Then this is a very important matter, and hence, the formulation of that expression is a very vital thing. This debate is going on simply on the answer to the first question. Shall we formulate an expression at all? Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move as a substitute for the motion that is now before the house that the first vote taken in disposing of the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be an answer to the question, "Shall this convention formulate an expression of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward trade unions?" And settle that question only. Then we will get down out of the clouds to the resolution itself as a secondary matter. That would naturally follow.

Substitute seconded by Delegate Parks.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to say this: There was a very wise man who tried to save time by making all sorts of motions, and we spent valuable time that ought to be devoted to the real subject of disposing of such propositions as this. If you want to close the debate at 11 o'clock, vote for it; if you don't, vote it down. Let us stop chewing the rag about non-essentials and get at the question.

Delegate Kerrigan moved to lay the motion on the table. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sieverman moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

The motion to close the debate not later than 11 o'clock was put and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will now read the substitute and amendment of the matter before the house.

THE SECRETARY: There is quite a number. There is the original as offered by the committee, and there are a couple of amendments to change the phraseology, and there is an entirely new substitute. I think it would consume valuable time unless they want them all read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Everybody has the original motion. Let us hear the substitute. You already have the original resolution before you on the tables.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I would like to say that I believe every delegate in this hall understands the substitute fully. Let us get down to debating the question and not consume more time. This was read once last night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then we will proceed to debate upon the substitute.

The Secretary then read the substitute resolution offered by Delegate Ott of Wyoming at Wednesday's session.

The question was called for.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to discuss a question that I have been trying to get at since yesterday, the trade union question. Have I the floor to discuss the trade union question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): A point of order. At the close of last night's session a motion was carried and the chairman stated specifically that when this matter was taken up this morning the sides should be divided until the speakers against the side of the trade union resolution should have as many speeches as the other side, prior to any one else speaking in defense of the proposition, and then other speakers might take the floor. I submit to you that this is out of order.

DEL. CAREY: When I arose on this side no man rose to oppose it, and I took the floor to defend it.

DEL COLLINS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. I do not think that motion was passed last night.

THE SECRETARY: The motion was passed as stated by the gentleman from Illinois, and it was understood that as many speakers in opposition to the trade union motion should be heard as were heard in advocacy of the trade union motion.

DEL. COLLINS: I would like to make a suggestion, to save time; that the comrades that are against the resolution on trade unionism pick out six on their side, or as many as you want, or nine; then let us pick out six or nine on the other side. I think that will satisfy the trade union side.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion on the subject.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I trust we will start the debate, and I hope that those who are opposed to the resolution will make their presence known now. They have not been heard yet, and it is about time that we heard from them. We want to hear from them as quick as possible.

DEL. CAREY: If there is any understanding that those opposed to the resolutions are entitled to this time I am perfectly willing to yield. It will be 11 o'clock soon. I am perfectly willing to yield.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to call on Comrade Cross, assistant secretary, to read the exact status of affairs, as I was not present last night. I have relied upon the statement of Comrade Cross and want to get it before the delegates so as to facilitate matters.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. I wish to protest against the statement that those opposed to this resolution are opposed to trade unionism. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no question of personal privilege.

ASST. SECRETARY CROSS: The matter before the house is as follows: You are at present debating the substitute offered by Comrade Ott of Wyoming. You are not debating trade unionism or anything else, but you must debate upon the substitute as offered by Ott of Wyoming.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to table the substitute. Seconded.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): That is the most outrageous idea I ever heard of.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): The delegates will remember that I was in the chair when we adjourned last night. The chairman was not present. There was a motion passed which the secretary has not read, and I would like to state it for the information of the delegates. The motion was that we should continue in session for ten minutes; that then we should adjourn, and that

to-morrow (this) morning as many speakers who were opposed to the adoption of the resolution should have the floor as there had been in favor of the resolution. The debate commenced with a lady from one of the western states here. She opposed the resolutions in toto. That was followed by a member from Missouri, and then our friend here (Delegate Lamb, of Michigan), and Max Hayes. All three of those spoke in favor of the trade union proposition, and it is in order, unless we consider the motion passed last night, now to give to the opponents of the resolution three speakers.

A DELEGATE: Four.

DEL. MORGAN: No, three speakers. Now, you ought to be satisfied. I am in favor of the resolutions, and I am making this plea for you, and I say there were three, and that is in accordance with the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Morgan, who was vice-chairman yesterday, and in the chair when yesterday's session adjourned, states that in accordance with the resolution adopted there are three speakers opposed to the adoption of the trade union resolution entitled to the floor.

DEL. MORGAN: That is right.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. So far from there being three, there were five, the names of the delegates speaking being Hayes of Ohio, Lamb of Michigan, Sieverman of New York, Hoehn of Missouri and Brandt of Missouri. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: And there was one opposed, Smith of Oregon.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): A point of information. The secretary stated that the only thing that was in order now to be discussed was the substitute resolution offered by the comrade from Wyoming. I claim, intending to participate in this discussion, that under the motion to strike out from some delegate in Illinois the entire subject matter arising from the report of the Committee on Trades Unions is before the house. That is my conception of it.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is to say, that the original resolution and the substitute are both before the house.

DEL. BERLYN: And the motion to strike out, all are before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: And the motion to strike out what?

DEL. BERLYN: This clause. There was a motion made by a comrade that that should be stricken out, "Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

THE CHAIRMAN: The assistant secretary has suggested that he do what I wanted him to do at first, read the minutes of last night's session relating to this matter, and I must insist on order until the secretary is through reading the minutes of that part of the session.

ASST. SECRETARY CROSS: Report of committee on trade unions taken up. Moved to suspend rules one hour; seconded and carried. Moved by Dalton, Ill., to strike out clause beginning with "political conditions" and ending with "Industrial movement." That was also seconded. Goaziou of Pennsylvania moved to add to the last paragraph the words, "any more than difference of opinion has to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement." Moved to lay on table, which was ruled out of order as not debatable. Discussed by Hoehn of Missouri. Moved by Ott of Wyoming and seconded that the resolution be amended, and then he offered his substitute which has been read to you this morning by the secretary a few moments ago. It was then moved to continue in session until the matter is settled; seconded. Moved to lay on table; carried. Moved to continue for one hour; seconded. Spargo amends to continue for ten minutes, and then adjourn until 9 o'clock Thursday; this was seconded. Moved previous question; carried. Motion to extend ten minutes and adjourn until 9 Thursday morning; that was carried. Ott, amend to extend for one hour, was not put before the house. Moved by Spargo that an equal number of speakers talk on each side of the question and that those against speak first. Carried, and the convention adjourned amidst uproar.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move to table the substitute. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved to table the substitute offered by Comrade Ott.

Question called for.

The motion was put on the question of tabling the substitute, and was declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now, as I understand, reverts upon the——

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): According to the rule that was adopted last night we ought not to dispose of any of these resolutions before we have a chance to talk upon these subjects.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now reverts upon Delegate Goaziou's amendment.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Last night we voted that a certain number of those opposed to the trade union proposition should be given the floor equal to the number of those that had already talked for it. What I want to know is, are they going to talk or not?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Talk, talk.

DEL. PARKS: I want to talk, Mr. Chairman. I want to talk.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize no one for the proposition.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): A point of order. My point is that when a comrade asks the floor it is not right for the Chair to question what side he is on. He can develop his argument as he pleases.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now reverts upon Delegate Goaziou's amendment.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. We adopted a rule last night for the order of business this morning as to the discussion of this trade union resolution. I want to know if we are going to have a right to talk about it. That is my point of order. I will hold the floor until it is decided.

DEL. CROSS: I would suggest that you talk on the resolution.

DEL. PARKS: That is what I want to do. I ask for the floor for that purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks certainly has the privilege of the floor, but I want him to talk to the question.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Talk, talk.

DEL. GIBBS: I suggest that he take the club.

DEL. PARKS (holding up his club): I will state that that club is more powerful than the policeman's club, and more authority than Roberts' Rules of Order, because I use it as a symbol for truth and not for truth itself.

THE CHAIRMAN: Talk to the question.

DEL. PARKS: My friends, there are some objections urged against talking upon this side of this question, some saying that the people who are opposed to some of the resolutions brought up here are simply educated people who don't want the proposition discussed and are throwing a slur at the people who are studying the philosophy of Socialism and social problems. My friends, Karl Marx was one of the best educated men that the world ever produced, and carried Ph. D. at the end of his name. If it had not been for Karl Marx we would not have had "Capital" written, and we would not perhaps have had the Communist Manifesto. My friends, it would be a good idea if some of these labor union men that are so active in this discussion would spend five cents and buy a copy of the Communist Manifesto, which I propose to quote this morning, upon this side of the question (Applause.) The thing we want to look out for is not to divide the workers. Karl Marx said, "Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing but your chains to lose, you have a world to gain." We propose to unite all the workers, and not make a statement to appeal to one class of workers. (Applause.) If we take a special side and make Socialism a union movement we will divide the workers, and we will be doing the identical things that the capitalists succeed in doing, having the scab and the union man fighting one another. What we want to do is to go before the working men of the United States and appeal to all classes, and not to any one particular class. Capital and capitalism favor unionism so long as they can use unionism for their weapon. (Applause.) Roosevelt himself is a union man, and you will hear union men tell you that Roosevelt is the greatest American and that he has done a great deal down in the American anthracite fields to protect the rights of laboring men. We are not a union party. We are a working men's party, and we want that distinctly understood. (Applause.) What is unionism? Unionism simply begs for more wages, higher

wages. What is Socialism? We propose to abolish the wage system. (Applause.) What is the interest of the working man when he goes into a union? Is it because of the spirit of solidarity or is it because of the selfish advantage he gets out of it? Most of them go into it because they are going to help out their pocketbooks. Now, my friends, we know that in 1848 Karl Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto. We know that at that time, according to the preface written by Frederick Engels, there was a great union movement all over Europe. Karl Marx was called upon to write a manifesto that would appeal to all the workers of the world, and he wrote a manifesto which became the platform of the workers of the world when these trade union movements on the continent and in England went to pieces. Unionism rises and falls, but Socialism, my friends, is a science as true as the science of mathematics, and it will last as long as the universe lasts. My friends, the unions went to pieces after the insurrection in Paris in 1848, and they tell us in the preface:

"When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the Manifesto. The International was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassalleans in Germany. Marx, who drew up this program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864."

I will read the whole of it:

"Proudhonism in France, Lassalleanism in Germany, were dying out, and even the conservative English trades unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name, 'continental Socialism had lost its terrors for us'".

(Here the gavel fell.)

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): Comrade Chairman—— ,

THE CHAIRMAN: On which side are you?

DEL. GIBBS: In opposition to the committee's report as presented. I wish to speak in opposition to the committee's report as presented to this convention, but first I wish to resent the insinuation that those who are opposed to this report are also opposed to the trades union movement. (Applause.) I would not do one single thing to lessen or to weaken the bonds of fraternal union which exists between trade unionism, and the Socialist movement I speak in opposition to this motion because I believe the time is coming rapidly, if that time is not already here, when the Socialist movement must cease making any special appeals to any particular part of the working class (applause), and must recognize the fact that our sole mission is to the whole of the working class. Now, Mr. Chairman, it is unfortunate, perhaps, that I am obliged to speak from the standpoint of the despised professional. I say that may be somewhat unfortunate. It is true, friends, that I am obliged to wear a longitudinal crease in my pants, but I do it for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a horizontal crease in your overalls. It is true that I am obliged to wear a clean shirt, for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear dirty shirts. It is true that I am obliged to carry around a professional title in front of my name, for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows don't wear a title. But I want to say that I have found out this, that my grocer, when he sends his

bill, sometimes makes a mistake and puts the "Dr." after my name instead of in front. I am not proud of these things. These are simply the badges of my servitude. I recognize the fact, in other words, that my profession has been reduced to the level of the wage working class. I am speaking from the floor of this convention to-day, not as a friend of the working class, for I despise that term, but I am speaking as a working man myself. (Applause.) I want to remind you, friends, that I have not learned the philosophy of Socialism out of a book. I have learned it by the hard and bitter experiences of my own life. (Applause.) I learned the A B C's of Socialism standing in the rag room of a paper mill at eleven years of age, when I was obliged to stand upon a salt box to reach the top of the table that I was working at, and I have been perfectly at home upon a salt box, a soap box, a shoe box or any other old kind of a box ever since. In other words, my capitalist friends builded better than they knew, and that is the way they made a Socialist orator out of me. While I speak from the standpoint of the orator, I deplore any taunts or any sneers or bitterness that may be raised between these two sections or elements in our party. I want to say that I fling back to our friends of the trade union movement these taunts that they have flung at us. I simply decline to accept those taunts; that is all. They cannot hurt me with that brickbat because I wear the armor of intense loyalty to the working class movement which cannot be penetrated by any such mere taunts as those. I want to say that when the work of this convention shall have been completed we will both stand together; we will clasp hands together, and we will stand shoulder to shoulder, fellow-comrades in the working class movement of the world. (Applause.) Now, I want to tell you, friends, what kind of a Socialist I am. I hold that it is the supreme or the first duty of the Socialist movement to proclaim to the whole of the working class that it is a slave class. I say, to the whole working class, and not to any particular part of it.

Delegate Webster (Ohio) arose.

THE CHAIRMAN (to Delegate Gibbs): You have three minutes.

DEL. GIBBS: Under the rule, we are entitled to ten minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead, Comrade Gibbs.

DEL. GIBBS: I want to tell you what kind of a Socialist I am. I hold that it is the first duty of the Socialist movement to proclaim to the whole of the working class that it is a slave class; in other words, to draw the class line so clear and distinct that the working man, though a trade union man, cannot err therein. It is our first duty, I say, to proclaim the fact that the whole working class is a slave class. We must proclaim the fact to the farm slave and to the factory slave, to the educated and to the ignorant slave, to the scab slave and to the union slave; to the black slave and to the white slave alike. (Applause.) As our second duty we must unite these parts of the working class in a solid political organization which will grasp the powers of government for the sole purpose that it may emancipate the working class. And our third duty, as I conceive it—perhaps the highest and holiest duty which the Socialist movement has to-day—is to proclaim to all classes and to the whole world that we proclaim the class struggle for the sole and supreme purpose that we may forever abolish the class struggle. (Applause.) Now, friends, that, I say, is my conception of Socialism and the Socialist movement. If that is academical Socialism, I am an academic Socialist. Now, I ask the question, What relation does the trade union movement bear to this program? And I want to suggest right here, friends, that it is not for us to show our position towards the trade unions, but it is for the trade unions to show their position towards us. (Applause.) I want to thank my comrade, Lamb, of Michigan, for making one point clear. He declared that we must endorse the trade unions in order that they might recognize the fact that we must have the organized workers of the world in the future to carry forward the organized work of the world. I recognize the force of that argument, but I want to say in reply that it is equally true that we must have the organized wage-workers of the world, and we must also have and endorse the organized workers

in every other department of life. Following the logic of his argument, we should endorse, for instance, organizations of the farmers, because in the future co-operative commonwealth we must have organized farmers. We ought to endorse the organizations of the doctors, for in the future co-operative commonwealth we must have doctors; and I suspect, friends, that if some of us don't stop wasting our nervous and physical strength here we will need some of the doctors before we get through with this convention. (Laughter.) I want to say, also, that following that same line of logic, we ought to endorse the ministers' organizations and associations, for I suspect we are going to require a few ministers to assist at the funeral of capitalism and take care of the moral wrecks that we leave behind. In other words, I hold that our mission is to the whole of the working class. I am opposed to this motion not because I am opposed to the trade union, but because I am opposed to any special endorsement of any fractional part of the working class, for that special endorsement obscures the clear line of the class struggle. It keeps the workers divided. In other words, it does the old, old world-wide, ages-long capitalist trick, keeps the workers divided against each other, and just so long as we are willing to do that or in any way to aid them, just so long the capitalist system and the capitalists will remain in power. Therefore, I am opposed to this motion in its present form. I believe we should maintain our freedom and sympathetic attitude towards the trade unions, but we should simply from this time on "gang our own gait," hew straight to the line of the class struggle, and let the chips fall where they may. (Applause.)

DEL. KRAYBILL (Kan.): Comrades, I want to ask, should not those who have not yet spoken upon this proposition have an even opportunity upon the floor? Is it not capitalistic to monopolize the time? Let us hear from those who have not been heard before.

Delegate Berlyn (Ill.) arose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand that Delegate Berlyn speaks in opposition to the trade union resolution?

DEL. BERLYN: I am going to speak in opposition to the motion to strike out that clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berlyn has not the floor. Comrade Toole.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Comrades, I am opposed to the trade union resolution as reported, but on different grounds from those of the last speaker. I am opposed to this resolution not because I am opposed to trade unionism, but because this resolution ties the Socialist Party to one particular brand of trade unionism. (Applause.) I submit this to this convention; that organized labor continually shifts to meet the attacks of organized capital. It is only a short while ago that the old Knights of Labor went to pieces because it did not meet the industrial conditions that obtained. I also submit that present conditions are such that the trade union pure and simple, the blind policies laid down by the American Federation of Labor, are not such as to meet the present industrial conditions. (Applause.) And I submit this: that if the trade union movement is carried on on the present lines laid down by Gompers it will be wrecked in its opposition to capitalism; that is at the mercy of organized capital. For between the courts and the injunctions on the one side, and the militia and the Employs' Associations on the other, the near future sees the smash of organized labor, and if this convention ties the Socialist Party to that peculiar brand of trade unionism, we go down in the wreck of trade unionism pure and simple. (Applause.) Mr. Chairman and members of the convention, I am in favor of trade unionism, but I am in favor of a form of trade unionism that meets modern industrial conditions. (applause), and I say this, that a form of trade unionism that does not declare for the ballot is puerile, childish and not worthy the support of a body of Socialists. (Applause.) Because I submit this: that the modern form of trade unionism has its beginnings and its bounds within the present system, and that the very minute it reaches a point where it can be effective, that very minute it becomes the weakest, because the very minute it becomes so strong that it ties up capitalistic organizations, that very minute capitalism is bound to destroy it because it can no longer exist. I mean by that that the logical

policy of trade unionism is to raise wages; that it is to reduce production; that it is to put the conduct of the business in the hands of the trade unions; and I say that when that point arrives at which the trade unions are striving and at which they must strive as trade unions, that that very point proves the destruction of trade unionism, because capitalism is bound to destroy it or die. But the weak point is this: that they have left the powers of government in the hands of the capitalists. They are powerless and there is where we are drifting to. The capitalists are of necessity forced to smash the trade union movement, and the trade union men have put all the powers of government in the hands of the capitalists. If we understand the industrial conditions, what must we do as Socialists? Must we bind ourselves to this puerile form of trade union organization? I repeat, I am not opposed to trade union organizations, but at this critical moment we must do one of two things: we must either leave the men in the industrial movement to fight it out as those in control of the industrial movement see fit, or else we must do this: we must rise to the occasion, we must get out of the mire of opportunism and rise to the heights of revolutionary action. (Applause.) We must do one of two things: we must either leave the trade union movement to take its own course, and take no action in it whatsoever, or else declare that the Socialist Party, the organized revolutionary proletariat itself, will take charge not only of the political movement, but of the trade union movement as well. In the language of Danton, we must dare, and dare, and dare again. And it is up to us, comrades, whether we will rise to this occasion: whether we will go forth from this convention determined and inspired by all the martyrs of the past. Let me tell you, comrades, let me refer you to the conditions in Colorado, to-day, and I want to say that until that condition arose in Colorado I would have been in favor of a resolution like this. But I was more impressed by what a delegate from Colorado told me to-day, that when he was brought up to the bull-pen, they told him that if he were a Gompers Socialist, that if he were a "pure and simple" Socialist, he was all right. Comrades, let me repeat in conclusion, we must do either one thing or the other: we must decide to let the trade unions take their own course, leaving the trade unions to follow out the lines of industrial development and we will frame our action, or we must make up our minds to take the revolutionary policy and conduct the trade union movement ourselves. Otherwise, if we tie ourselves to a moribund organization, if we tie ourselves to an organization that is already dead in purpose and principle, we will miss the opportunity and we will let the golden moment slide by, and perhaps die with the movement that we tie ourselves to. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Wilkins of California. This is the last speaker in opposition, making the fifth speaker.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): There are different kinds of union movements in this country. Some unions are class conscious and some unions are merely craft conscious. The craft conscious union man is always talking about the scab. The class conscious man is a Socialist. The Western Federation of Labor has declared for Socialism. The union men in the unions that have not declared for Socialism are like people who build a levee of sand bags to hold back the rising river. The true Socialist is building a levee that shall stand for all time. The unionist who is also a Socialist is a class conscious union man. I take a middle ground on this line practically; theoretically, I do not. I was asked the other day, for instance, I am a typesetter—"If you were making your living at typesetting would you join a union?" I said I would join a union; I could not do anything else. I asked the lady who spoke yesterday against this substitute, "Would you join the union?" She said, "I would not join the union." That is the difference. In practice, therefore, I would take the middle ground; in theory, I take no middle ground. It seems to me that even if I were in the union, I could not give my heart and my energy to simple and pure unionism. They would get my dollar and a half a month for dues. It would be a perfunctory proceeding, this belonging to the union; it would not be the work that I should want to do. My real work would be

given to Socialism, to class conscious Socialism. I believe that between 1904 and 1908 the path of unionism is not going to be a path strewn with roses. I believe that in the west at least the powers of capitalism are uniting so that they will have a very serious time as they are having in Colorado. In all cities of the west the merchants and manufactures' associations and the citizens' alliances are organizing. They are doing it quietly, but they are doing it well and I believe that between 1904 and 1908 we will have existing in other places the conditions now existing in Colorado, and perhaps in many other places. (Applause.) Even now, 10,000 men are out of work in Southern California, and many of those men are union men, hitting the pipe while many non-union men are at work side by side with union men. The union then is to a certain extent doomed. With the power of capitalism absolutely united against unionism, the union is doomed because the union is fighting with a little rock against the gattling gun. And so, to-day, I believe that the Western Federation of Miners, which has taken a stand for Socialism, which has also taken the stand of not resisting the powers that be, the powers of capitalism—has taken the wise stand, and it seems to me that this convention should command that stand.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): And vote the Democratic ticket.

DEL. WILKINS: When Comrade Floaten was taken from his house at night and was walked barefoot over the ground, the blood that stained that snow was as honorable as any blood ever shed upon the battle field; and when Comrade Floaten says that the next time a man breaks into his house he will die right there, Comrade Floaten makes a mistake. Right there it seems to me we should make a stand. Are we to resist the authorities or are we not to resist the authorities?—and I have passed a resolution in to the Committee to that effect. I believe we should make a definite stand on that proposition. Is the theory, the policy of non-resistance to the officials in authority the right policy? I say that it is the right policy, and that Comrade Floaten when he did not resist did the right thing. Bebel says, "If you resist the authorities that be you make of your bodies cannon feed, simply cannon feed." That is what they want us to do so they may have a chance to kill us. But let us have it so established that every time something happens in the course of a strike, every time an accident happens in the mines where the men are striking, every time a building burns down in the strike country, in the strike field, let us have it known everywhere that the capitalists themselves paid for those things, that they hired men to burn down those buildings, that they hired somebody to cause the explosion in the mine. That is the case to a great extent in Germany. In Germany, however, the conditions are very different from the conditions in this country. The unions are like the Western Federation of Miners, almost without exception Socialist organizations. (Applause.) The conditions, therefore, are not parallel to the conditions in this country. When the Comrade from St. Louis yesterday said that the Socialists must be the backbone of the labor unions and the labor unions must be the backbone of the Socialist movement, I say that that might be true in Germany, but the conditions are different in this trust ridden country, very different. I want to say again, my sympathies go out to the unions that are class conscious and have declared for Socialism. But the craft conscious Socialists who have just a little 2 by 4 pen around their organization, cannot help us on this question. If we pass a resolution it seems to me it should be commendatory of those unions which have declared for Socialism. You should draw a clear cut line between the Socialist unions and the non-Socialist unions.

A DELEGATE: Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will recognize no one until he makes a statement. When the Chair told Comrade Parks that his time was up it was because the Chair was under the impression that the three minute rule prevailed. He was not aware that ten minutes were allowed, that the regular ten minutes for each speaker was in order, and Comrade Parks was, therefore, allowed only three minutes out of his regular ten. I am, therefore, going to call on Comrade Parks for the remaining seven minutes so that he can conclude his argument. (Applause.)

DEL. PARKS: My friends, I say

the Socialist agitators will handle this union problem all right if you will put us in such a position that the capitalists cannot go before the unorganized workers and tell them that I am opposed to the scabs and am taking sides with the union man. My friends, the Socialist agitator should be able to teach the doctrine of the class struggle, economic determinism and surplus value. The class struggle is only one of the doctrines, and trade unionism is only one of the forms of the class struggle. Now, my friends, as I said a little while ago I use this as an emblem of truth (exhibiting his painted club). Carroll D. Wright says that organized labor on the average produces something like ten dollars' worth of goods a day when it is employed, and that the average wages are something less than two dollars a day. Now, my friends, what is the laboring man doing in order to get more of the product of his labor? I use this stick to represent the ten dollars, and I use this part of the stick (indicating the short end of the stick) to represent what labor gets, or two dollars. This (exhibiting the long end) represents what goes to capital in the shape of rent, interest and profit. The politician tells the laboring man that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are identical. The Socialist agitator should go forth and show that the interests of labor and the interests of capital are absolutely antagonistic, and that there is a class struggle, and politics is the science of the governmental control of men. Socialism is the science of the administration of things. (Applause.) We do not want to put anything into our platform or pass any resolutions here to catch votes. We want to put in a statement of principles here that will appear to the reason of the world. My friends, this, as I say (the long end), according to the statement of Carroll D. Wright, represents the proportion which goes to capital, and this (the short end), represents the proportion that goes to labor. Now, the laboring man, in order to get more of what he creates, forms a union. What for? To force up wages. When wages go up, rent, interest and profit diminish. The capitalist sees that the higher wages go the less rent, interest and profit he has. This is only true in the gold mining industries of Colorado and the rest of the world, because the capitalist cannot put the increased wages upon the price of gold. The price of gold is fixed in the markets of the world. The capital of the west, in order to break down the union, is shipping in scab labor to force down wages, for when wages go down, rent, interest and profit go up. There is the class struggle, my friends, and what the Socialist should do is to go to the laboring man and point out that there is a class struggle, and that the interests of labor and the interests of capital are absolutely opposed. Now, the laboring man, in order to get more of when you take the other industries, except in the gold mines in the west, you see there is no class struggle going on between the capitalists and the laboring men because when the laboring men force up wages what the capitalist loses in the shape of wages he puts upon the prices of the goods that the laboring man has got to buy back. (Applause.) Now, my friends, we should go forth and teach the laboring man that in order to stop this exploitation the laboring man must own the machine that he produces the goods with; and that is Socialism. Now, my friends, I am not opposed to unionism. I was once a member of the American Labor Union myself. There has been a kind of a slur thrown out here that perhaps I have gotten all my training in Socialism from schools and from books. My friends, when I came out of the university, the best work I could do was teaching school at $30 to $35 a month. I went out and joined the proletarians of Colorado, and I have traveled all over the west and mixed with all kinds of people and worked in all sorts and conditions of trades. I have worked in the sewer and on ranches and in the mining camps and lumber camps and different places, and I was able to make more money at common labor than at practicing law or teaching school. And, my friends, I wish it distinctly understood that I am not simply a theoretical, school-book Socialist. Now, as to unionism, there is some good coming out of the unions; there is great good coming of the unions. The union is developinig class consciousness. The union does good because it gives the union man a drill in parliamentary practice and tactics, and it is a good thing. It is unfortunate that most of the workers of the world are not

united in any sort of shape. As I said before, my friends, if we divide the workers we will be doing just the thing that the capitalists have always succeeded heretofore in doing. We want to appeal to all the workers of the world to unite, and not make any special appeal to anybody. We can point out to the labor union man and show him where his position is, and that it is only a means to an end; that we have the organization, and that our aim is industrial freedom, and with industrial freedom will come the freedom of all the workers of the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The debate will now continue an hour, with one speaker on either side until the time is up.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the convention to this fact, that the argument against trades unions has been reduced to that (holding up Delegate Park's stick). Take it (handing the stick to Delegate Parks). This argument against trade unionism has been reduced to a piece of wood, like those persons who are lookinig around and calling on the workers to unite, and then when they come to a Socialist body they argue for the men that refuse to unite. (Applause.) But, aside from that—remember the stick! In the name of the workers of this country, I thank those excellent lawyers and doctors who constitute themselves an advisory board to wean the trade union movement. I thank them for their advice. We do not understand English, but we do understand this fact, that the economic movement of the working class, whatever its mistakes. whatever its limitations, whatever the errors of leaders or the form of organization, the economic movement of the working class, in the shape of the trade union movement, is the expression of a protest from me and my brother at the machine. (Applause.) Call the union what you will, be its form of organization what it may, but when my brother and I working in the factory say to our master that we want more, we are giving the first expression of the awakening consciousness of the working class. (Applause.) It is well for you, who do not know the daily struggle of the working class in the shop,—it is well for you to rap us over the knuckles for our mistakes, and we thank you for it. But remember this: That whatever you say or whatever you may not say about us, we of the workinig class are confronted not with a vote next year, but we are confronting our master in the factory every day, and not only once a year. (Applause.) And we have the courage, not to go out on a street corner and deliver lectures on a stick, but we have the courage, we of the trade movement who are Socialists, to fight our bosses in the factory every day, and then at the ballot box. The trade union movement exists not because I want it or you do not want it. The trade union exists because of the economic division of society. The labor union is a form of protest on the part of the workers of the world against conditions under which the labor power of the workers shall be sold at such prices as to reduce the workers to a level where they will be incapable of reaching the heights of the Socialist philosophy. (Applause.) We of the trade union movement who are Socialists seek to protect our class from being forced down into the lower levels of animal degradation. We meet the conditions, we compete, we of the trades union movement that are Socialists, while you people are writinig books and giving us philosophical dissertations on a stick. (Laughter and applause.) We are defending our class, preserving its manhood, guarding it against such degradation as would make it impossible even to understand the gentleman from Kansas. (Laughter.) That is our position. And I tell you, Comrades, that it does not matter to us of the trades union movement what you do, but it will be a sorry spectacle, and it is a sorry spectacle, that that portion of the working class who rise to Marx's appeal and unite in defense of themselves, must needs plead with you for recognition of them. (Applause.) And it is to the everlastinig discredit of every man who, while he may argue Socialism from a stick, as the opposition to the trades union movement was finally reduced to——

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. The delegate is not defending trades unionism.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not well taken.

THE DELEGATE: I appeal.

DEL. CAREY: All right; go ahead, raise your points. We will stay with you if you want us.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will proceed.

DEL. CAREY: I beg your pardon. I just want to call attention to the simple fact that the trades union movement, despite what you may do or what you may not do, the trades union will exist whether you wish it to exist or not. Just at present I am one of the agitators for Socialism, and I am going home; but when I go home and go into the shop and confront the conditions there, and beside me is some poor ignorant working man who has risen to the point where he appreciates the forces pressing him downward, and he says to me, "Jim, let us make a stand for better conditions in this factory," I will hand him over Karl Marx. (Laughter and applause.) Yes, I will talk Socialism, too. But at the same time I will stand beside him as he fights for the preservation of his manhood and to keep my class from the lower levels, in order, you intelligent persons—in order that he may be capable of understanding Karl Marx. These gentlemen, every one, who have slapped the trades unions and then stood there and you agreed with them, they are good fellows, and we are good fellows, and yet they give us a whack in the jaw. They remind me of the fellow who asked a boy to watch his team for a few minutes. He said to the boy, "Is your father a Christian?" The boy said, "Yes, but he don't work at it." (Laughter.) And these lovers of the trades union movement, they are in it, but they are not working at it just now. (Applause.) But whatever your position, I repeat again, what would you do, you men that have spoken against us, and you women? What would you do in case of a street car strike here in Chicago? What would you do? Would you ride or would you walk?

A DELEGATE: Walk.

DEL. CAREY: Exactly, you would walk. Yes, and yet you don't want to divide the working class. Don't you know that you are turning down that non-union man who is running the car? You take your position with whom? With us? That is what you do. And you cannot avoid it. You intelligent Socialists, during a street car strike presenting an unhappy division between the non-union and the union man, what will you do? You will go on making Socialist speeches, but will you ride on the scab cars and stand for the scab? No, you will refuse to ride, and you will stand with the trade unionists that are making that contest. (Applause.)

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I spoke last night in favor of continuing the meeting last night for one hour, but did not have the pleasure of talking on the resolution before the house. Comrade Chairman and Comrades, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this question. I want to say that I do not consider myself more capable than anybody else to talk intelligently on this question, but I perhaps may have had more experience in the trades union movement than some here, because I have been an active trade unionist for the past fifteen or eighteen years. I want to say that I stand before this convention to-day as a trade unionist, and one who carries a paid-up card in one of the biggest organizations in this country. (Applause.) But I want to say also, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that I stand here first of all as a member of the Socialist Party of America, and then as a member of the Socialist Party of the world. (Applause.) I want to say to you that at the last meeting of Local Dayton, that matter was brought up there and was thoroughly discussed, and the members that attended that meeting were practically every one a man who carried a trade union card, and that they took action there instructing me as their representative to advocate the wiping out of all trade union propositions or resolutions or any other resolution that appealed to any particular part or branch of the working class to-day (applause), and I want to say that it is my candid opinion and my belief that the Socialist movement can further its interests best by ignoring all resolutions that come before this convention which have a tendency to recognize the trade union movement or any other particular part of the working class. (Applause.) I want to say, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, that there may have been a time in former ages when there was a greater necessity for the trade union movement to awaken the intellectual ability of the

working class of this country to the fact that they should organize for their own protection. I want to say that 25 or 30 years ago—or, yes, 15 years ago—we did not have the Socialist movement in this country to awaken the people to their real interests as we have to-day. I want to say, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that the trade union movement in this country to-day, is too much, if I may so term it, of a spider web for the Socialist movement to take any part in it. I want to say that the Employers' Association to-day is organized as it has never been before. I want to say that it is my opinion that the trades union movement is going to have a harder row to hoe than it ever has in its history, and I believe that the opportunity is here for the Socialist movement to go forward as it has never done before. Remarks have been made by some of the Comrades who have spoken that the trade union movement will advance the immediate and material interests of the working class. I want to say that this convention is not here to deny to the workers of this country or the workers of the world the right to organize as trade unions. I believe that trade unionism will live, one way or the other, and I hope it will. As I say, I will remain a member of the organization of my craft so long as I am eligible to membership, but I want to say that my work in the Socialist movement has been hampered because of my activity in the trade union movement, and my efforts in the future shall be in the interest of Socialism because the trade union movement can never solve this problem definitely. It can never obtain a permanent settlement of the struggle that is now on. (Applause.) I want to say that the Socialist movement advocates a definite and permanent settlement, and for that I believe we ought to work first, last and always, and assist the other so far as we can, but that is all. I want to say to you that the labor union movement for the past few years has maintained a lobbying committee at Washington in the houses of congress to advocate that laws be passed in the interest of the working class, and then at election they will turn around and vote their enemies into office, and I say that that is wrong. I say that our duty is to awaken the workers to the fact that they can accomplish far more by using the ballot than they can by the strike, the boycott or the union label. In relating a little past history of the trades union movement I might call your attention to the fate of the K. of L., an organization that once advocated noble principles and had power once numerically. That organization has practically sunk into oblivion, to the extent that there is practically nothing of it left but a history which it made in the great American labor movement. I would call your attention to the great strike at Homestead in 1892, when the iron workers were shot down in cold blood because they saw fit to march in a body on the public highways, and all the struggle and all the blood that was spilled in that great struggle, did not settle the trouble between capital and labor so far as the iron workers of the country were concerned. I want to say that the great strike of the A. R. U. which took place in 1894, when many men were forced to lay down their tools and quit their work in defense of their rights as trades unionists,—that with all the sacrifices that were made in that struggle, when one—as good a man as ever carried a union card—was forced to spend six months behind prison bars, that all that did not settle the trouble between capitalism and labor in the trade unions in the railroad industry. I want to say, when we come down a little further to the disaster in Idaho in 1898, when men were thrown by the hundreds into the bull-pen and treated with such contempt—which is in my opinion the blackest blot on American history—that all that sacrifice did not succeed in settling definitely the trouble between the miners of Idaho and the employers. I want to say that in 1900, in one of the manufacturing institutions of this country, perhaps one of the greatest in the world, the National Cash Register Works at Dayton, Ohio, a strike was declared by the metal polishers in that factory, and they succeeded in shutting down the entire plant for seven weeks. That fight was continued for six or seven months with as good prospects of success as any strike that was ever declared in the history of organized labor. I want to say that that strike was fought with vim and vigor when the members of that organization were discharged, and it was fought successfully to a final conclusion and the institution was whipped to

a standstill, but when the settlement came it was arranged in such a way that nothing was conceded to the men, not even provision being made for the return of one of the trade unions who had gone on strike six or seven months previous; not one returned into that factory. I want to say that all these things will perhaps call your attention to the inability of the trade union movement to solve the problem that confronts the workers to-day. I believe that the proper thing for this convention here to do to-day, taking everything into consideration—I want to say that I do not want to see this convention divided; I want to see all factions leave this hall when this convention adjourns, united, and united in the cause of Socialism. (Applause.)

DELEGATE TOOLE (Md.): A point of order. It is now 11 o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion was not carried.

Delegate Gaylord of Wisconsin raised the point of order that it being 11 o'clock, under the former motion no further discussion could be had, but the Chair ruled that the motion to that effect was not carried, and the discussion was continued.

Thereupon Delegate Gaylord offered the following resolution and moved its adoption as a substitute for the resolution as presented by the Committee:

> "The Socialist Party of America recognizes that the trades union organizations are an essential part of the labor movement, and are absolutely necessary for the purpose of upholding the standard of living and resisting the encroachments of capitalism under the present economic system.
>
> "We heartily commend them in their efforts to organize the working class for that purpose and declare that it is the duty of every Socialist who can do so to join his respective trades union."

A motion to table the above resolution was declared out of order as Delegate Gaylord had the floor.

DEL. GAYLORD: Now, we have heard various Comrades plead for peculiar things. One has asked that the intellectual should be ignored, or implied such a plea. Another has asked that the trade unions should be ignored, a plea directly made by the speaker who just preceded me. Others, both on the floor and in groups on the outside, have advocated that the farmers be ignored. Others will say that unorganized labor also should be ignored, and possibly some other economic group should be ignored, and thus we secure the ignoring of the whole working class. Now, what do you want to do that for? Let us rise for a little while to a higher level, if we can, and get a view of the whole field. This substitute motion puts it before this convention as represented in various ways. We do not represent the whole of the working class in our proper persons here to-day, and that is the reason we do not expect to elect our candidates. There is a labor movement which for the present as an actual fact is bigger than the Socialist Party of America or the International Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, physically and materially on the principle of economic determinism we are not so big yet as the entire labor movement. Let us recognize that fact. If we do not, it will down us, and others will take our place. (Applause.) I mean ourselves—not the Socialist philosophy nor the Socialist movement. We are responsible in a sense for the great ideal which we are here to represent. We are responsible in a sense also to the ideal and fact of the labor movement as a whole. Let us get that clearly in our minds. What does this labor movement include? Who should be consciously represented in it or in a gathering trying to represent it? Elements every one of which are really represented here to-day, economic groups everyone of which has its representative on this floor—the intellectuals, the organized trade union movement, the farmers, the unorganized labor and, if you please, I daresay there may be one or two specimens of genus hobo, if some of us like myself were to be frank and admit it. I don't know where my home is. Now, then, let us look for a moment at the facts as we get the whole field in view. First, there is the Socialist Party. We will not be too modest and put ourselves first. We claim to be class conscious, we claim to be intelligent. That is what consciousness means. First of all, we know that we know ourselves,

and from that we get to know other things and get to know the sense of the whole situation. We, therefore, have a right, I think, to put ourselves first and most representative, as this body in the persons present proves. Now then, there are other elements intermingled. Next I put, in my opinion, the organized labor movement. At once we see sections in this—the great eastern movement, as I think we may well call it to-day, the A. F. of L., and the great western movement, the A. L. U., and the other great local and state trade unions, some unaffiliated, some affiliated, locally but not nationally, some affiliated nationally and not internationally. Shall we here to-day, representing the most intelligent group of the working class, refuse to recognize the fact of this great labor movement? What do we gain by that? I do not plead for the recognition of any local union, I do not plead for the A. L. U. nor for the A. F. of L., although I carry a card in one of those. I plead for the recognition of the fact that economic groups exist within the labor movement next in intelligence, I believe as proved by their organization, to the Socialist Party. (Applause.) Do you want to lose what will be lost,—whatever it is, I am not discussing what it is—by ignoring that fact? What for? I say recognize it. Don't ignore it. Open your eyes. It is there, whether you like it or not it is there, and most of us really like it. (Applause.) I say recognize it, and point to it—you will not misunderstand me—with pride. I have been speaking of the organized labor. Now, there is the unorganized, and in this we may include at once, the intellectual groups of various sorts; they are not organized as such. They will be probably before a great while and that will then bring them into the organized field. Then there is the great mass of unskilled factory workers; next to that there is the great mass of common labor drifting here and there, the driftwood on our modern economic sea. After them—perhaps ahead of them, I should say—come the farmers. In the city I am closer to the other group than to the farmers, and I put them first, but perhaps the farmers should come next to the organized labor, though as an economic group they are not yet organized. If they were organized as an economic group I should say, recognize them next to organized labor. But you need to recognize them. They are there and must be recognized in your working program. This is a survey of the whole field I am trying to give you for the purpose of getting down to business on this particular point.

Delegate Miller (Colo.) secured the eye of the Chair, and the Chairman asked:

"On what side do you speak?"

DEL. MILLER: I speak for the resolution submitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must hear from someone in opposition.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A question of personal privilege. I want to introduce an amendment so it may be read before the delegate speaks.

DEL. MILLER: And read the substitute just offered along with it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute offered by Comrade Gaylord and the amendment offered by Comrade Slobodin will be read.

DEL. SLOBODIN: This is the amendment to the substitute, and should take its place:

> "Socialist political action first, and the trade movement next, are the main weapons to be used by the working class for the better life and of the capitalist class for greater profits. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their trades and to promote there the spirit of solidarity and identity of the interests of the entire working class. We recognize, however, that the main activity of the trade unions is confined within the narrow limits of the daily interests of their trades and industries.
>
> "We call on the members of the trade unions who realize the fact of the class struggle which the working class is fiercely waging against the capitalist class for a larger share in the product of labor. While the trade unions are of great advantage to the working class in the struggle against the exploitation of labor, they cannot alone abolish this exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end when the instruments of production will be owned by the entire people for the equal benefit of

all. Every trade unionist who realizes this should join the Socialist Party and assist in arousing the working class to political action, so that it may secure the powers of government, and, by abolishing wage slavery and establishing the co-operative common wealth, achieve its own emancipation."

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): A point of order. My point of order is that you cannot introduce a substitute of a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not a substitute of a substitute, but an amendment.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. You cannot introduce an amendment of a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The Secretary will read the substitute and the amendment to the substitute.

DEL. STEDMAN: The point of order is this, that you cannot amend a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state to Comrade Stedman that under the present condition of affairs, with a number of substitutes and amendments before the house, that I would entertain this amendment in order to attempt to secure the close of the debate. We will vote upon the question. Comrade Spears has the floor.

Delegate Phelan, of Illinois, moved that the amendment be laid on the table, but the motion was lost.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The statement has been made here that those opposing trade unions were naturally intellectual and non-unionists. I stand before you as a trade unionist, and not as an intellectual. I also stand before you as a representative of both the two great trades unions, both the A. F. of L. and the A. L. U., and I stand opposed to all trades union resolutions in the Socialist movement, because I recognize this fact: That the trades union movement is the outcome of a development, just the same as the trust is the outcome of a development to-day. The economic development produced the trust on behalf of the capitalist; it also produced the trades union movement on behalf of the workmen. Trades unionism can only be a reform, and we must recognize it as a reform in every sense of the word. Some reference has been made to the London resolution. In that resolution the conditions that may have met with approval by those who decided on those resolutions, coming from countries where conditions are different than here in America, may have had some force. But why should we take the conditions here and try to measure them with the half-bushel of the man from Germany or England? Some one referred to his experiences in trade unions. I have had experience in trades unions. I know what it is to be up against a labor fakir in the Chair, backed up by all those who want to throttle any Socialist agitation in the trades union. Resolutions in trade unions, what are they worth? Not the paper they are written on, my friends. (Applause.) Concessions? What concessions have you got? You have got no concessions except what the capitalist may give out of fear, nothing else. One of the delegates has appealed to you with all the sentiment he could, and he referred to the South, and said that we had no movement in the South. My Comrade from the South tells me we should look to the South for a year or two. The reason they have no Socialist movement is they have not had any agitators there. Further, some one said our only hope was in the trades union movement. My friends, if that is our only hope we have got a dismal outlook for Socialism. (Applause.) I am a trades unionist for one purpose only: It is to my material interest. My material interest compels me to be a trades unionist if I want to eat. I belong to the typographical union, and my scale of wages has been increased $12 a month. For 50 cents a week I get $12 a month. It is a pretty good speculation. I grant you it is a good place, if you could do something there. I say to the men, "Join the union," every time I am "on the box," because it brings men together. When they are organized they are discontented. That is all I can see in it. They say it is one phase of the class struggle, and the next thing we know we will have other phases of the class struggle Then my Comrade from Massachusetts called us non-uniters. He said we were non-uniters. He spoke of fellows who united in the trades union movement,

had seemed to think that the men who could not get into a trades union because the fee to get in was so high, that he never expected to see it accomplished. When you make it a $250 fee, and the poor devil hasn't got a dollar in his pocket, how can he become a trades unionist? Then he spoke of the courage of the trades union Socialists. I have the courage to be a Socialist because I couldn't be anything else. He spoke of handing Carl Marx to him. I don't hand them Karl Marx because I don't know enough about it to do it. All I know is that I am a wage slave, and that is all I can preach. All I know is capitalism puts me in a shop and compels me to work there day after day. I do not want to waste my energies in the trades unions when I can do far more by showing that we stand for the whole working class first and the union next.

At this point there were cries of "Time," and the Chairman said:

"The speaker's time is not yet up, and he retains the floor for one minute more."

DEL. SPEARS: I venture to say that some of my Comrades from the smaller towns may think it is unusual for one from the city to be opposed to the unions. I have had some Comrades tell me what wonderful things you have done in the union. Mayhap you have while you have some little control, but you little know what the fight is in the city. You little know what trade unions are doing in this city. No doubt they have honest men in the trade union in some places, and you may by a sort of a so-called honesty do something in that line, but as a whole it is futile to tie ourselves up to the trade union movement. Let them fight their battles. And who are they? After we have assisted them in fighting the battle, who will get them? Mr. Hearst will come out and say he stands for the labor union movement, and he is quite anxious to have——

At this point, the gavel fell and Delegate Hanford secured recognition, stating that he desired to speak to the main question and in favor of the adoption of the trade union resolution.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): Now, Mr. Chairman, and Comrades, with the single exception of possibly Comrade Gaylord of Wisconsin, I do not think that the speakers have dealt at all adequately with this question. We seem to go on the basis that the so-called Socialist Labor Party of the past went on that the trade union is only for us to take or leave, or do what we please with it. We know perfectly well that the Socialist movement is not that kind of a movement. We go out and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, but why can't we understand that in the time intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive or there will be no race to enjoy Socialism. (Applause.) The trades union movement deals with this question here and now. True, not for all, but for as many as it can and it is going to continue. You can read the history of the last hundred years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism there would have been no working class to go into Socialism. (Applause.) Now, this did not come out of any great desire of the trade unionist to do a wonderful and wise thing. It came out of necessity. That is where the trade unions were born and so long as there is a necessity for them they will remain. Now, let us recognize that as a fundamental fact, and I doubt if anyone here can dispute it, and I know that it cannot be disproved. Now, let us see what the Socialist Party in this country did. Only a few years ago, they adopted and put into the resolutions which were unanimously adopted, substantially the remarks which were made by the eloquent Comrade of Illinois (Spears) and by several other Comrades here. They unanimously adopted a proposition like this: 'This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class,' and so on. There is a page of that resolution, and then at the bottom they said, 'Let the Socialist watchwords everywhere be, "Down with trade unionism pure and simple," "Away with the labor fakirs," "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P."' And what became of the men that passed that resolution? (Cheers and Applause.) All there is left of the organization that passed that resolution is this little old

red book. (Applause.) Now, it is a splendid thing for Comrades to get up here and talk about being a Socialist, first, a trade unionist next, and something else after that. I can tell you, Comrades, that wherever you work if it comes right down to the question—if it comes to that issue to-night or to-morrow morning—to go on strikes to maintain a living wage, you can bet one of two things—you would go on a strike and fight for it, or you would be a "dead one." This question of trades union is not at all a question of whether you like it or dislike it. It is here, and don't you think for a minute that because of the Lattimers or the Hazletons that you will even put a brake on the wheel of progress of the trades union movement. Their very defeats will make them stronger. Their defeats in the last analysis will be found victories. Are you going out on the stump and tell these trade unions that because some particular organization is officered by a labor fakir that its body is composed of labor fakirs? If you do that will you be allowed to talk to that organization on the line of educating them in Socialism? Not on your life. What you have got to do is to say this: "You know the truth perfectly well, and that is, that in the trade union, men may be corrupt, officers may go wrong, but you do know that the rank and file will not consciously go wrong except for one reason, and that is lack of light to see the right." When you have said that then you can put the light before them. This question is probably more important than any other question that we can settle here to-day. I want myself to be able, not only in the trades union but everywhere else, to take a position where any man who opposes me from the standpoint of the working class, I can throw a rock at him and knock his damn block off. (Applause.) That is where I want to be. And this trade union resolution, putting us upon that line, standing for the working class in the trade union and out of it, wherever that trade union is, I say again and I will repeat: The working class, right or wrong—I don't care whether they are right or wrong. (Applause.) You go on and talk about wage slavery and you are going on to show why they are slaves. Can you expect this man who has been under slavery for centuries, this man who has been constantly misguided ever since he was taught to read, can you expect him suddenly to get a bolt of light from heaven and proceed and never make a mistake? They have got to go up against these mistakes, and I will still concede that and still say, the organization that survives to-day, even though wrong, will be right to-morrow and still survive. (Applause.) Go all down the line in the history of this trade union movement and what do you find? They talk here, for instance, about trades unions passing resolutions of endorsement. I don't care a single cent for all the resolutions, so far as their passage is concerned, but I do care an immense amount about the discussion of those resolutions in these bodies. I am not trying to convert labor leaders. I am not trying to convert capitalism. I am trying to convert this common man at the bottom who has to pay the cost of everything, and out of whose heart-blood and sweat comes the penalty of all his errors. (Applause.) Do you mean to say that that man has no interest in going wrong? His very life depends upon his going right, and all you need to get him to go right is two things: First, that he shall hear you with an open mind; and, second, that you know enough about the subject so that you can present to him in a way that he can understand. (Applause.) He will know the reason why the trades union movement in this country to-day is not where it should be, other than from natural and economic causes. The next great reason is in our deficiency. Our deficiency. We should have been school-masters talking to the five year old child, and learning him his letters; and simply because we have gone to this child in the economic primer and, instead of teaching him his letters, we have tried to give him a volume of Karl Marx, and he didn't understand it. We say "You are a damn fool, and there is no use trying to do anything with you." Now, you people that have not had success with the trade union movement, let me tell you to do this thing, which I intend to do. I intend to look for the fool not so much in him as in myself—to teach him his letters, then words of one syllable and then I know he will learn to read, and when he does understand the subject, he will be with us because, as I said, his very life depends upon his coming with us. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: I have got up a

dozen times on this question, and I appeal to you I am entitled to be heard.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will take his seat. Delegate Hayes, the Chairman of the Committee, asks to submit his supplementary report, and he has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio.): Mr. Chairman, and Delegates: This question has been discussed the greater part of yesterday afternoon and this forenoon, and the hour of noon is practically here. It is my opinion that practically every Delegate in this Hall has made up his mind how he is going to vote——

A DELEGATE: I thought you had a supplementary report?

DEL. HAYES: I intend to make it, but I want to explain it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee has a perfect right to make a statement why he is making a supplementary report, and order must be preserved.

DEL. HAYES: I say it is the desire of the Committee that this matter be brought to a vote as soon as possible; and for that reason we have again gone over the original proposition submitted and made some alterations which the Committee believes will meet with the views of the delegates here assembled, and I will read the resolution. Those of you who have copies of the original report may follow it and you will note that some things have been stricken out and others worded somewhat differently.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

"The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party: The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this Convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the divisions of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist Principles."

Mr. Chairman, I offer this as a substitute or a correction for the original report of the Committee on trades unions.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Dilno of Missouri.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded—I will not speak until every delegate takes his seat. It is moved and seconded that the supplementary report of the Committee be adopted. One moment, before you proceed any further, I want to call attention to the fact that according to the agreement there were to be an equal number of speakers on each side. Now, since the five speakers on each side have spoken there have been three speakers for the trades union resolution and only two against, and I would consider it justice that another in opposition—(Cries of Delegates for recognition here interrupted the Chairman, who continued as follows): One moment. I will not proceed until the Delegates take their seats. And I would consider it just that another speaker in opposition be given the privilege of expressing his opinion. (Cries: "That is right, that is right!"). And in view of that, I will recognize the comrade from Montana, I believe. Aren't you opposed?

A DELEGATE (Mont.): I am in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Maurer of Pennsylvania was recognized by the Chair and stated that

he desired to speak in opposition to the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion to adopt the supplementary report.

A delegate here asked if a roll call on the resolution would be permitted and the Chairman replied: "You will have time for that when the vote is reached."

DEL. MAURER (Penn.): Comrade Chairman, this is the first opportunity I have had to address this Convention. When I came here I made up my mind I was in the presence of what are commonly termed "spell-binders" and I was willing to give way here and let the "spell-binders"——

The speaker was here interrupted by the point of order that he was not speaking to the question, and he replied, "I wish to introduce my question."

THE CHAIRMAN: Let the speaker proceed, and he will come to the question if you give him a chance.

DEL. MAURER: I have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take a different position than the smart element have taken. After listening to Comrade Carey and Comrade Hanford trying to bamboozle us, trying to make us believe that things are different from what they are, I find it impossible to remain sitting in my seat any longer. They forget they are talking to Socialists now. I want you to understand that I am a neighbor of George Baer of anthracite fame. I came from Pennsylvania. I am a union man, at that, in good standing and have been in the union for the last twenty-four years. I want you to know that I have not been connected with the union in a paid capacity, but as a volunteer. After listening to some of the talk that I have heard upon this floor it arose in my mind that perhaps this was a business delegates' convention instead of a socialist convention. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the speaker not to make reflecting remarks upon the convention.

DEL. MAURER: I do not intend to. I beg pardon if I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: He must confine himself to the question.

DEL. MAURER: Now then, the question has been raised here by some of those who favor unionism, they have claimed last night upon this platform, and this morning again, what the unions have done for the working class. They have pointed to the west, to the east and to the north. I want to tell you this: In the strike in Pennsylvania in the coal fields it was not the trades union movement that fought that fight alone. The Pennsylvania delegation that sits here to-day was represented in that fight, and won that victory, which the poor and simple considered a victory, but which Socialists know was not—it was not brought to that point by the trade unionists, but by the Socialists of the United States. (Applause.) You talk about the Socialists being against the trade unionists? Far from it. You try to convey the idea here that we are trying to fight the unions. I spoke to the plumbers in the City of Chicago the other night, and I am going to speak to another union to-night, and I want to have the honor of going back to my people, to my comrades, to my union men in Pennsylvania, and I want to be put on record as being against putting the Socialist Party in any light at all as a compromise with any other organization. (Applause.) It has been said that we are doing what the Socialist Labor Party did on this floor. Those insinuations have been cast out. I want you to distinctly understand the Socialist Labor Party antagonized trade unionists. We do not antagonize trade unionists. (Applause.) I came from a union where 70 per cent of our members are Socialists, and when I joined them there were only two Socialists in the union that I now affiliate with, and we didn't have to be the tail-end of organized labor to accomplish that. Fellow comrades, it is said among our union men, and especially in the American Federation of Labor, that you dare not bring Socialism into the union. Keep Socialism out of the union, they tell us, it is bad for the union; and in Boston they boasted about how they took the sting out of the union movement. Now, it necessarily follows in my opinion that if Socialism is bad in the union it is bad to bring unionism into the Socialist movement. (Applause.) Why, I am surprised at the tactics assumed by the opposition. That resolution as it stands there, I do not question that it is acceptable to most of us. I do not question that if it had stopped at that—but

what have you got back of that? If that is all you ask for I do not question but what that could be carried unanimously, but we suspect from the remarks here that that is not all you ask from this convention. You say we should fight for the union man. Where is there a Socialist in this convention who has not been doing that? You talk as if we were a lot of strike-breakers. I am surprised. These tactics, comrades, may go, as I said before, among unionists——

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

DEL. MAURER: A half minute I have. In conclusion, let me say this: I do not stand here representing the unions. I stand here to represent the good cause of education in order to emancipate the proletariat of the whole civilized world, and not alone of the trade union. (Applause.)

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am in favor of the resolution as reported by the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to state that I shall recognize no more speakers until a motion to put the question is made.

A delegate here moved the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berlyn has the floor.

DEL. BERLYN: Comrades, I am in favor of the resolution in its entirety. I am opposed to the proposition as made by one of the delegates from my state to strike out, and call attention to the fact that in the trades union organizations a diversity of political opinion exists, and must of necessity exist. If you go on a strike, you haven't got time to ask a man whether he is a democrat or republican. We need the trades unions in our business, and right here is the point. This resolution in its entirety protects us against slobbering over the trades unions. We recognize that all shades of political opinions go into the trades unions and when we recognize that we cannot subordinate ourselves to them. That is the value of this resolution in its entirety. To strike this out would open the door again for some more Daniel DeLeon. (Applause.) The trades union cannot be organized on political lines. That is impossible, and I take pride that I never have and never will allow myself to be dragged into any other kind of schisms in the trade union. The trades union people condemn it. Why, to deny this resolution would be simply to say that you are an ostrich—you put your head in the sand and you cannot see. Trades unions exist, and it is from compulsion arising from conditions that they do exist. If the comrades in this party cannot keep their trails clear and know what the true trade union policy is, they had better learn. In Milwaukee they have shown results. And the comrades from St. Louis—Hoehn and Brandt—they have been applying the trick of truckling to the trades unions, and what do they show? Nothing. In Milwaukee they never antagonize the trade union, and they don't allow the trade union to sit on their trail. They were with the boys in the fight every time, but they kept their own Socialist movement free. (Applause.) I remember two years ago when we went with the National Committee to St. Louis. We had a show. We made a dime museum show of the National Committee, and we were told that the entire central body of St. Louis were Socialists. We had a big meeting and we had some rag chewing there, and they cheered us to the door; and when the election results came in they did worse than at Chicago, by a long shot. Now, that is the thing that we want to avoid, and the resolution in its entirety says that they are not Socialists, that all kinds of political opinions are present, and dictates the policy all over the country that we must not allow ourselves to be subjected to them. This amended resolution is a cipher if you pass it. I say that the injury done to the Socialist movement in the United States from the earliest day that I was in it has been the everlasting attempt to capture the leaders of the trades unions, and forgetting all about the rank and file. (Applause.) Then, on the other side, we have got a disgusting scene in our union when the question comes up of helping some other fellow, some of our soap-box fellows make a speech which I cannot understand in any other way than putting the Socialists in discredit. There is no room for the soap-box speech in the union. The only thing to preach is to show the efficiency of the economic struggle and tell them in the union we stand for Socialism pure and simple. I say, keep politics out of

the union and if you don't you will have a trades union that will swamp you.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): May I ask a question? Is there a political organization to-day in the trades union?

DEL. BERLYN: No. There is in some trades unions. I will explain: I am a member of a trades union as long as most of you. I have held all kinds of positions and I am active to-day, and in those unions I have preached the class struggle until they begin to know where I stand. Anybody who has followed the union in this city has known that I have been active. We are making sound Socialists of the leaders. Let us stand by our philosophy. The moment a Socialist becomes a business agent or is materially interested and identified with a union, to that degree he becomes corrupted to the idea of capturing the leaders, and has been a detriment to the movement. Let the unions do their own business and let us not intrude upon their work.

Delegate Walsh of Montana secured the recognition of the Chair, and the Chair asked upon which side he wished to speak.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I desire to yield part of my time to Comrade Smith of Oregon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Smith of Oregon has already spoken on the question.

DEL. WALSH: I desire to yield part of my time to anyone else.

(Cries of "No, No, No.")

THE CHAIRMAN: If Comrade Walsh wishes to speak on the question he must speak now. There are only eight minutes and a half until adjournment.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): It appears to me that we have got into a trades union proposition. We have a resolution here that has been introduced by the committee and I would feel like acting upon that resolution had it come from an organized body of labor, but I am opposed to that resolution or the Socialist Party taking any stand upon that proposition whatever. (Applause.) We were told last night by one of the speakers from the stage that we have been eating dust. We know we have, and if we continue the proposition, we will eat dust for five years longer. And so we have got to organize upon Socialistic principles. There is no misunderstanding of our point that we are opposed to trades unions. We are not opposed to trades union, but we are opposed to bringing the trades union into this Socialist convention. The comrade who just left the floor upon that proposition says that he does not believe in bringing politics into the unions. I do believe in it, and all our western people believe in bringing Socialism into the unions. What good is an opinion if we cannot teach our comrades the right way out of the wilderness? We have failed to do it in the Trades Council; we have failed to do it in the trades union. Then there must be some other way of providing for it, and that only way is the Socialist movement. It is a class movement. We have to-day scabs who are class conscious Socialists. I ask you what we are going to do with them? Are we going to stand up for the union man and say, "Down with the scab?" I ask you what we are going to do with Mitchell coming into the western country to raise trouble? I will tell you what we are going to do. We are going to drive him out of the country. That is what we are going to do. Now, we have got to organize upon the lines of Socialism and go along that line. Supposing that we had followed the Lynches, the Gomperses and Mitchells; suppose we followed the preaching of the doctrine of Hanna, who said the union is a good thing. Suppose we followed that. What do we find we are fighting? They say themselves capitalism and this, that, and the other are fighting, not organized labor in Colorado, but anarchistic Socialism. That is what we are fighting. Then after capital has disrupted organized labor, as they attempted to disrupt the typographical union in the Miller case, I ask you, if the majority is on the other side, who is the Socialist Party going to preach class struggle to?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): A point of information: The information I desire to get from the Chair is whether before the question is closed, or at what time, I may submit an amendment to the main resolution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not this morning, Comrade Spargo. We have enough resolutions, substitutes, amend

ments and supplementary reports to cover the question in every form.

DEL. SPARGO: No, Comrade Chairman, there is one point which has been raised which in my opinion is the most important point of all, and that has not been touched by any motion that I have heard read in this convention.

At this point Delegate Berger secured recognition and the Chair stated that there were left four minutes before the hour for adjournment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I came from a city where we have a labor movement with two arms—a Socialist arm and a trade union arm. (Applause.) And this is the only kind of a labor movement that will succeed in this country or any other modern country. In Milwaukee, the Socialist Party—the Social Democrat Party it is called in our state—has received in it about 15,000 or 16,000 trade union men. It was a regular class vote. The capitalist papers before election claimed that if Victor Berger was elected the trades unions would run amuck in Milwaukee and that the poor manufacturers would have to close out their factories and move away—probably to Chicago, Ill.—I don't know where.

A DELEGATE (Ill.): We'll take care of them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt the speaker.

DEL. BERGER: Comrades, I will say this, that the trade union movement is fully as important as the Socialist movement at the present time. (Cries of "No" and hisses.) I will just point to the difference: Look at the labor movement and the Socialist movement in England and look at the Socialist movement in Germany. In England, they have a one-arm movement and there it is similar to the conditions here, it is crippled. In Germany and in France you have the two-arm movement, right and left. And look at our labor movement in America. Outside of Milwaukee, in America, the labor movement is also one-armed because the Socialist Party does not count much outside of a few places. Now, our idea is to have the two-arm movement, and this can only be done in the following way: not in carrying resolutions here and there, but in getting the membership. It can only be done by a personal union of the Socialist Party and the trades union. By a personal union I mean that the same people who are active in the trades union are also active in the Socialist Party, and that is the case in my home town. If you go to the Central Committee of the Social Democrat Party with a few exceptions you see about the same faces as you see in the Trades Council.

THE CHAIRMAN: One minute more, comrade.

DEL. BERGER: Then I will get the rest of the time afterwards?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. BERGER: I have only one minute more, and I will take my time afterwards. I say it would be simply criminal for the Socialist Party not to recognize—not only criminal, but suicidal—if you do not recognize the people who are fighting the class struggle every day of the year. We claim to be the political party of the class conscious. Now the trades union man is fighting the class struggle every day of the year—every time the labor union tries to make a contract or a wage scale with the employer. How can we afford to turn the trades union down without committing suicide?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour for adjournment has arrived, and the convention will stand adjourned for the noon recess, and Comrade Berger will have the remainder of his time when we re-assemble.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman Mailly called the meeting to order at one forty-five p. m., and immediately recognized Delegate Berger, who had still six minutes left from the ten minutes allotted him in which to speak upon the trades union resolution.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I said before lunch that the economic movement of the labor class is co-ordinate to the political movement of the labor class, and that you cannot neglect one without

crippling the movement, the entire movement. I will say, further, that owing to the attitude towards the trades union movement of the Socialist Party, owing to our attitude there are Socialists and delegates on the floor here today who would never have become Socialists if it had not been for the attitude we have taken. It has been agitated here that the trades unions have no right to speak for the men who are not organized. Now one of the comrades gave me a very good point on that. He said, "If two million or a million and a half men organized in the trades unions have no right to speak for the unorganized men, what right do we twenty-three thousand organized men have to speak for the entire laboring class?" I want to ask you that. I think that is a very good point, a very good point, indeed. If one million a half organized men have no right to speak for those that are not organized, what right do we twenty-three thousand have to speak for the entire laboring class? We have the right and they have the right. Now, comrades, I have promised to give part of my time to Comrade Titus of Washington, just to please some of my Chicago friends, and I would like the Chairman to be kind enough to give him part of my time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Has Delegate Titus had the floor before on this question?

DEL. BERGER: No, he has not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, Delegate Titus has three minutes then. Come forward. (Applause.)

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I belong to one of the professions, I suppose, so most of them being on the other side, why I can take the opposite with good grace. I only want to make two or three points, and I will be through in three minutes.

I have been listening here to this discussion and the people who are opposed to this trades union resolution strike me as being utterly impractical in their arguments. (Applause.) I want to ask you what would happen to the laboring class if there were no trades unions, and one of the speakers from Chicago answered it this morning. He said, "If I wasn't in a trades union I would be getting six dollars and a quarter less a week than I get now, and I think it a good investment to pay twenty-five cents a week to get six dollars and a quarter back." (Laughter.) Now it is a fact that the motto under present conditions, under capitalism, must be, "Get all you can." (Applause.) This impracticable suggestion that you don't want any trades unions to get what you can is wholly in line with these people who are opposed to any program. (Applause.) They would strike down trades unions, strike down everything that gets us anything and reduce the whole class to the level of the coolies in the far East. We do not want that; we want the best we can get under these conditions. They say, however, the worse off you make the working class the better it is for them. Now, I want to disassociate myself entirely and absolutely from the impossibilists. (Applause.) Not that I disassociate myself thereby from those who stand for the strictest Marxian program (Applause), but I believe in getting what you can under present conditions before seeking to abolish the whole thing. One other point and I have done. The main reason for our going in with the labor unions is not to make them political bodies, we don't want any politics in labor unions, not at all (applause)—but the main reason for going into the labor unions is to educate them for Socialism. (Applause.) Right now when Samuel Gompers is in league with the Civic Federation to capture some two million or three million wage-workers who are organized for capitalistic alliance, to work for capitalism, in alliance with it to defeat the rest of the working class by means of organized labor—when capital is trying to capture organized labor, let us bring a counter stroke. The most strategic move for us to take is to go into unions as individuals and educate them so they cannot be captured by capital. (Applause.) Nothing but the education of the working class will accomplish that. (Applause.)

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I move the previous question.

Motion seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point?

DEL. SPARGO: Whether the amendment which I have already handed in will be read now or whether it will

be in order after the previous question has been moved?

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall have to put the previous question.

The previous question was then put to a vive voce vote, and the result of the vote being doubtful, a rising vote was taken and the motion declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs upon the adoption of the supplementary report of the committee. There will now be one speech on each side, three minutes apiece.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I rise to speak in favor of the supplementary report of the committee. You will notice that it is not only a declaration in favor of trades unionists, but it is also a distinct and specific declaration that the labor unions should be educated in Socialistic principles, and it is a specific declaration on the issues that are facing us to-day. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that we have had any number of resolutions passed in times past, but whenever we have come to the practical issue, we will find that there has been no expression of the party's will on one side or the other side of the question. If we are to be for trades unionism, vote for this report, but if we are to be against them, vote down the supplementary report.

DEL. O'MALLEY (Mont.): If I am on the opposition side it is not because I am opposed to a declaration in favor or against trades unionism, but because I am opposed to that which has been sedulously kept in the background this morning and last night. I am opposed to the kind of declaration we have here, which a portion of the party, backed by long training, long parliamentary training, is endeavoring to ram down the throats of this convention. I had hoped that those of the Socialist Party who are following the delectable occupation of attempting to force this thing through would at least have had the manhood to have arisen upon this matter and stated their position, and not attempted to hide behind the trades union movement as a general proposition, in endeavoring to force through this organization a specious endorsement of one kind of unionism. I want to say to this convention that if, by the adoption of this resolution, they say to the workingmen of the west that they should abandon their industrial organization to go into a combination which at best is nothing more than playing into the hands of the capitalists, I strongly urge the western men to use a little bit of profanity and to tell this convention to go to hell. (Loud applause.) I want to say, Mr. Chairman and comrades, that conditions in the industrial world to-day are not as they were twenty-five years ago. The growth of capitalism has put an entirely different phase on the matter. One of the delegates made the remark here to-day or yesterday that there were sixty-four divisions of the shoe trade, and I want to say that if trades unionism was carried to its logical conclusion in the industrial plant in my city, we would have sixty-four separate and distinct organizations in the shoe industry there, every one of them fighting their battle separately and going on strike one at a time, and being crushed one at a time. But, standing together as we do, the injury of one is the concern of all and through that union we hold our strength and gain our battles. (Loud applause.) Comrades, the point involved in the resolution before this body is this: Will you by your vote to-day say that we desire to turn the working class, bound hand and foot, over to those who have been unable to accomplish anything, and to defend our action because the bond by which they tie them bears the label of the trade union?

THE CHAIRMAN: The time has expired and the question now reverts to the adoption of the supplementary report of the committee.

DEL. HAYES (O.): Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have recognized Comrade Gaylord.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I want to say that the substitute submitted by me is withdrawn. It was withdrawn before, as I understand it.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was withdrawn. For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I rise for the purpose of asking the convention if they will permit me to make a suggestion that will hasten the solution of this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it the pleasure of the convention? (Cries of "No.") There is objection, and the

question reverts to the supplementary report.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Does the supplementary report take the place of the original?

THE CHAIRMAN: The supplementary report is withdrawn.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): The supplementary report is not withdrawn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, no, I should have said the substitute of Comrade Gaylord is withdrawn. The supplementary report takes the place of the original report.

DEL. SLOBODIN: My substitute comes first.

THE CHAIRMAN: No. The question comes upon the supplementary report. All those in favor will manifest so by saying aye.

A great many delegates endeavored to obtain recognition, many of them rising to points of order.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I ask for a point of information.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

At this point there were loud cries for roll call.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize no one until order is restored. Comrade Lucas will take his seat. Now, then, I will recognize the delegates one at a time.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Comrade Chairman.

THT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. STEDMAN: I rise to make a motion that we have a roll call on this.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that there be a roll call upon the adoption of the supplementary report. Are you ready for the question?

The question was called for, and the motion being put, it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is adopted.

DEL. PARKS: Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat. I shall not recognize any one on any question but the secretary on the roll call.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Point of order.

DEL. PARKS: I have risen to a point of order; that is always in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me state that I will not recognize any one on any question except the secretary on the roll call.

DEL. PARKS: You will have to recognize a point of order.

A DELEGATE: What I want to know is, what we are going to vote on.

DEL. PARKS: We don't know what we are voting on. I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks of Kansas will take his seat.

DEL. PARKS: Let me state my point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat. The secretary will read—and if you had been calm I would have done this before—the secretary will read the supplementary report and we will then proceed with the roll call, and nobody need get excited. The previous question has been called for.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo will take his seat. (Loud applause.) The secretary will proceed with the reading of the supplementary report.

The secretary then read the Trades Union resolution as finally returned by the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now one moment: before the roll is called I want to call attention to the fact that there may be omissions on the roll call. The roll call was printed, I believe, before one or two of the delegates—the last delegates—took their seats, so that if there are any omissions you will understand that it is not our fault. Also, I think it would be much better and the secretaries will be able to follow much better if each delegate will rise when he votes so that the delegates can both see and hear him.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I rise to make a motion in regard to procedure.

THE CHAIRMAN: No motion is in order at this time.

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THE CHAIRMAN: It was withdrawn. For what purpose do you rise?

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THE CHAIRMAN: State your point.

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DEL. STEDMAN: I rise to make a motion that we have a roll call on this.

Motion seconded.

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The question was called for, and the motion being put, it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is adopted.

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THE CHAIRMAN: No motion is in order at this time.

principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit

shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

At the conclusion of the reading of the platform, there was long-continued applause.

Delegate Herron called attention to certain words which should have been omitted from the printed copies of the platform which were in the hands of the delegates while the report was being read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Platform. What is your pleasure?

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move its adoption.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move to accept it as read, without any further discussion. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report be accepted as read.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will not presume not to give the privilege of the floor to any delegate.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I have a motion; you may vote it down, and probably will. But, nevertheless, there are certain sentences in this platform which I do not believe ought to be put in a

Socialist platform. One in particular is this appeal in the last paragraph, "To this end we appeal to all the workers of America": it is to what follows that I object: "and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the worker's cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist Party." I maintain that if there are persons outside of the working class who are willing to come in and work with the working class and to stand absolutely on the working class platform, they are welcome and we want them as workers, but I do object to making any appeal on any ethical or other consideration to any person not belonging to the working class, in a Socialist platform. (Applause.)

There was no second to Delegate Taft's motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Platform be accepted and the platform adopted.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of that motion will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. The report of the Committee on Platform is adopted. (Applause.)

Nominations

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is——

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): Nominations for President.

THE CHAIRMAN: One moment.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): The Committee on Program is ready.

THE CHAIRMAN: Referring to the regular order of business, the next thing in order is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program.

DEL. HILQUIT: Inasmuch as we passed the nominations for President and Vice-President until the platform was adopted, nominations are now in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair was in error. We took up the report of the Committee on Platform under a suspension of the rules. The next thing in order, therefore, reverting to the original order of business, now that the report of the Committee on Platform has been received and adopted, will be to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President. (Applause.) Nominations are in order. Delegate Herron of New York.

HERRON NOMINATES EUGENE V. DEBS FOR PRESIDENT.

DEL. HERRON: Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the Convention: In rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention, and in watching the general development of the Socialist movement for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I shall go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are greater struggles before us, or before especially those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know. Here in America, the conditions of labor on the one side, and of capital on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialist economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nation of the world the lines of economic conflict, the lines of definition between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn, and drawn by the experience of the working class itself; and I have no doubt, although this is not the place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sun of that Co-operative Commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And, therefore, it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, not only of itself, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character

of the organization of labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me, therefore, important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school, such as they were,—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For, in the end, the workers of the world will never be free until they free themselves by their own united action. (Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end, all freedom and all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven delusive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lollards in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of Social Democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain or a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been because their cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years, have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that in the intensifying struggle that will bring upon us, in the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes, the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

Now, there is no man in American who more surely and faithfully incarnates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation, or more surely voices that struggle, than Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause.) And, Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the convention, I count it as among the great joys of my life—I do not say honors, because I have done with them long ago (applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey of Massachusetts.

CAREY SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF DEBS.

DEL. CAREY: Mr. Chairman: I am a representative of the working class—a class that has aroused themselves to the point where they make expression of protest against their masters, and during that protest between ourselves and between those of us that are in immediate conflict with our masters day after day, there come divisions between us, and sometimes, one of us who is making protests against our masters in a certain unscientific fashion may differ with a certain other one. But this is the issue. The issue is that every time we protest against our masters, we stand with those who in the last analysis stand for our class. (Applause.)

And whatever may be the difference between myself and anybody else in certain immediate struggles, whatever may be the differences, the ultimate means by which we of the trades union movement judge a man is not because he tells us he loves us, but because he has proven that he has stood with us in the hour when we needed him. (Applause.)

I am here to second the nomination of my Comrade, Herron, and I am here to warn the convention against criticisms that may be born out of the unhappy discussion on the trades union movement that we have just passed through, but to tell you—and I think I can speak for any trades unionist here (is there any who would object to that?)—that my Comrade, Debs, represents us in the trades union movement of this country (applause); that he has gone down to death because he dared in the struggle of my class, in the at-

tempt of my class to protect themselves against a degradation that would rob them of the power to express themselves, and dares to defend us. (Applause.) And whatever may be urged against him by the capitalist press or their satellites, I remember that my Comrade Debs, in the hour when my class were at the point of absolute extinction, that he stood with us and chose the silence of the jail rather than prostitute himself against us. (Applause.)

I tell this convention again that through all of the unhappy efforts of the Socialists, and of that particular portion of the Socialists who have had unhappy experiences, as I have had them, in that struggle, there is this name that the working class conjure by. Not that this man is an angel—not that he can read the palm of your hand and tell you whether you are going to be president or not. No. Not that he understands the transformation of value into active capital—although he does; but because my Comrade, Debs, in the issue between the working class and the capitalist class stood in the breach when it cost something to stand there. (Applause.) And I care not what else you may do, I care not what else you may say, I care not for the "scientific analysis of the unity of the multiplicities" (laughter), but I can tell you this, that to a working class who peer through the grim windows of a factory, or in the darkness of the mine, or upon the thundering railroads that carry them to death too often, there is one name that brings a thrill of hope to the working class, wherever they may be, whatever may be the trade union they belong to, and that name is the name of Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana. (Cheers and continued applause.)

DEL. M. W. WILKINS (Cal.): I know that I voice the sentiment of the Socialist Party of the Pacific Coast when I say I count it a joy and an honor to second the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the nomination of Comrade Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I move that the nominations be closed, and that Eugene V. Debs be declared the nominee of the Socialist Party for President of the United States.

EUGENE V. DEBS NOMINATED UNANIMOUSLY FOR PRESIDENT.

The motion was seconded from all parts of the hall, and amid the cheers of the delegates the vote was taken declaring Eugene V. Debs the candidate of the Socialist Party of America as President of the United States. The Chair appointed Delegates Hillquit (N. Y.), Hayes (Ohio), Berger (Mo.), Stedman (Ill.), Will (Kan.), Floaten (Colo.), and Titus (Wash.), as a committee to escort Comrade Debs to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pending the arrival of Comrade Debs we will proceed, as our time is limited. We will proceed with the next order of business, which is the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. Comrade Titus of Washington has the floor.

TITUS NOMINATES HANFORD FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrades, I think every member of this convention feels it the highest honor of his life as he finds himself a part of the Socialist movement that speaks its first word in this campaign in this hall to-day. We have all heard the words of Comrade Herron nominating Comrade Debs, and we have felt the thrill when he spoke concerning the class struggle and all that it means for the great class that we represent to-day, and we are proud of our candidate for President. There is one thing on which I believe this convention of the Socialist Party of America should be fully agreed, and it is something that has been felt throughout this convention since Sunday morning. Some of us have thought we were slow. Some of our capitalistic critics have thought we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done representing the working class—we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.)

Now, Comrades, we have made no mistake thus far. I have felt and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we begin to thrill with a common consciousness of a common destiny and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the

world—its own emancipation and that of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.)

There is a sort of inevitableness about the movement with which we are connected. It is not merely the equanimity of minds; that can be had in any common organization. It is not merely a unanimity of interests; that can be had in many. But there is the unanimity of consciousness of a common destiny impelled by powers that move evolution onward that has been expressed in our platform. The more you read it the more you will discover that it has in it all that preceding platforms of this party has had, and more, and all that the German, French or English Socialist platforms have contained, and more, concerning the growth and progress of the human race toward a higher destiny.

We are taking part in self-conscious action toward the guidance of the powers of evolution. We may go to destruction; this party may go to destruction if you fail in wisdom, if you fail in discernment of the economic causes that underlie this evolutionary movement. As we become instructed, as we are true to the knowledge that is conveyed to us by the great masters of the science of sociology, the science of Socialism, as we are true to those we shall succeed and not fail.

Now, Comrades, these remarks are preliminary to the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention, and before, that some man or men, some choice among men who were not members of the working class, should be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against nominating upon our ticket any man who is not a true representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in the formative period. Our party, I had almost said, was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without becoming convinced that this is a party truly integrated, truly unified. It cannot be destroyed unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a workingman's platform, and we have a workingman at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another representative workingman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other; who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to which I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope this nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York. (Cheers and continued applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): In behalf of the State of Wisconsin, or in behalf of the party of Wisconsin, which is almost entirely made up of the proletariat —we have very few preachers, very few lawyers, and still fewer judges and other prominent people in our ranks—in behalf of the working men associated in the Socialist Party, I rise to second the nomination of Comrade Ben Hanford, of New York. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): In behalf of the State of New York, of which the nominee, Benjamin Hanford, is a member, I desire to second the nomination. We in New York have in our movement men of all conditions. We have lawyers, Comrade Berger (laughter), and we have doctors and we have preachers. We also have the working class, and the movement is as sound as any state can boast of—and the pride of this movement in our state is Benjamin Hanford. (Applause.) We of New York who have worked with Ben, we of New York who have struggled with Ben for the common cause, for our great cause of Socialism, we of New York appreciate Ben Hanford as no other set of men possibly can.

I say to this convention and to the delegates here assembled that under no circumstances could any better choice, any worthier choice, have been made for associate to the presidential candidate than you have made by the selection of Benjamin Hanford. If we now go before the working class of the nation, if we now go before the voters at large of this nation, and present to them the ticket of "Debs and Hanford," no ticket of any party can beat that. (Applause.)

The strength and brains of the working class of this country will be well represented on our ticket. It is being said once in a while by the opponents

of our cause that the working class is trying to take the reins of government, the administration of the affairs of this country, into their own hands. I challenge any old party politician or any set of politicians to rival our ticket, with a combination of men as fully capable, as intelligent, as earnest, as fully representative of the interests of the great struggling class as will be the candidates of the Socialist Party, after our nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President and Benjamin Hanford for Vice President. (Applause.)

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: In behalf of the delegation of California, we want to reach the hand of fellowship, of comradeship, clear across the plains and over the mountains to our brothers in New York and second the nomination of Ben Hanford. (Applause.)

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: In behalf of the woman proletarians of the United States, in behalf of those who are joined with their brother comrades in their great struggle for existence, in behalf of the women who have been pushed out of homes and into factories, there to fight with their brothers for the means of life, I desire in the name of Colorado to second the nomination of Comrade Hanford for the position of Vice President.

And I do this also in the name of the comrades who are fighting the class struggle in the far west. I do it because we want a proletarian workingman on the ticket in the place of Vice President to represent us in Colorado, where the proletarians have been forced from their homes, where they have been thrown into jail without process of law, where they are aliens from the homes to which they belong, where they are enduring all the hardships of the class struggle. In behalf of the women of America, in behalf of our comrades in Colorado, I desire to second the nomination of Comrade Hanford. (Applause.)

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Fellow Comrades: In behalf of the delegation from Missouri, I desire to be recorded in the minutes of the proceedings of this convention as endorsing the candidacy of our Comrade of New York. (Applause.) Although Missouri is located in the middle west, still she is familiar with the work of Comrade Hanford, knows him personally and has been with him in many of the great campaigns. We know the interest he has in the movement, and the sacrifices which he has made for the cause. We know also fairly well that he is typical of the class which this party represents, and, therefore, in behalf of the delegation, again I wish to be recorded as seconding the nomination of Comrade Hanford, of New York. (Applause.)

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): In behalf of the comrades of the State of Ohio, I desire to move that Comrade Ben Hanford be made the unanimous choice of this convention as our candidate for Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted amid the long and continued cheers and applause of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will take the liberty of appointing Delegates Carey (Mass.), Sieverman (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.), Berlyn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Hazlett (Colo.) and Richardson (Cal.), to escort Comrade Hanford to the platform. (Applause.)

HANFORD'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

The committee appointed by the Chair then escorted Comrade Hanford to the platform, and, after the enthusiastic applause which greeted him had subsided, he said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long way around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.) I very much regret that Comrade Debs is not here. I should not only much rather that he had spoken first but really I am in doubt as to whether I am doing exactly the conventional thing. However, Socialists do not always do the conventional thing, anyhow. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that, for a long time past, myself and many other comrades have considered with each other, in an entirely informal way, as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned were considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say, more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or for that matter in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that, whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake in a remark about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It depends on the way you look at it. In one sense it might perhaps be truly said that I had done a little of this or a little of the other, where possibly in a certain way I might have done better for myself by not doing given things, but I want to say this: that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I don't know that I exactly agree with the philosophy which says that whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, but I do believe that there is no thing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth, which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life, so much as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right and wrong. (Loud applause.)

I can say here truthfully that I very much doubt that, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As you know, in my trade about ten or fifteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype, or typesetting machine; that machine came along. They put one of them in the printing office, one man got a job operating it, and this one man with the aid of the machine did the work that it formerly took three or four or five or as high as six men to do. Because of that machine, every time that one of them was put in an office they told some of the old hand printers to get out, to walk the plank, take to the street, be a tramp. Now, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing offices was about the time that I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) Of course some people may imagine there is some connection between the two (laughter), but what I want to point out is this: I saw friends of mine, men that I had known for years, men better, abler than I was in every respect, men whom to-day, judged from the best standard of manhood could not be improved upon, I saw men like that driven out into the street, placed there without an occupation, idle; idleness, not leisure, but enforced idleness, and I saw those men go to the gin mill to-day and take a few glasses and to-morrow and take a few more. I saw them become despondent, I saw them look for work week in and week out, and not get it, and I saw men of the character that I have mentioned who went on down the line and eventually filled a drunkard's grave for no other primary reason than the lack of employment forced upon them through the entrance of that machine into my business.

Now, I did not follow that course, and do you know why? As I say, these men, many of them, were abler and better than I can ever be, but I got tangled up in this Socialist movement, and every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time, or becoming despondent, I used that time reading a book or a paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, idleness for others was work for me, and what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.) That is one of the reasons why I say that I certainly cannot in any just sense be said to have ever made any sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It is to the Socialist movement that I attribute the fact that I am alive to-day. To use a slang expression, I consider that for the last seven or eight years, and all the more years I have got to come, I am what you would call "living on velvet," that is, I am already winner if I should drop dead right now; I have got more than is coming to me. (Laughter and applause.)

Now I do want to say a word about one of the acts of this convention anyhow: the trade union resolution to-day upon which we had the roll call. That to me was a very vital and important matter. Not in itself, but from this standpoint, and I want to illustrate again by calling to your mind the old Socialist-

Labor party of which we still have left practically the record only. (Laughter.) Two years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania while the strike was going on there. I spoke once or twice or three or four times a day, I think. Wherever I went all it needed was to put up a little placard and leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were a thousand men or five thousand men or ten thousand men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only that, but they heard Comrade Barnes and other comrades who were with me, and they heard any number of speakers. In fact, they heard gladly all the speakers that the Socialist party sent there. And, do you know why? Not for one moment was it the question of the few dollars and cents that we collected for them, but simply because those men knew just this much about the Socialist Party, that it was in hearty sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists.

Now there was another party that would have liked to have gone and sent speakers down into that field, but it did not send one, and had it sent a speaker there, that man would not have been able to have spoken one hundred words in any town in the whole strike field. The Socialist Labor party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades unions. (Applause.) Now what I want you to understand is this, and after you hear the proposition I want you to go around and consider it, you comrades who disagree with me, but I do tell you this: that we have got to become more and more practical all the time. We don't expect to have another convention for four years, and yet we need to have a convention every six months. Do you know why? Why, for the experience that we get in it, working as an organized body. (Applause.)

Now this body so far has to my mind done its work well, but it has taken twice the time necessary to do that work. Why? Not for lack of intelligence; not for lack of integrity, but for lack of experience. (Applause.) There are some things in this world that you cannot learn out of a book whether it is Roberts' Rules of Order, or be the book what it may. (Laughter and applause.) I want to be in a position where the trades unionists will listen to me, and our party, by taking the position that it has, can go out before the trades unionists, taking no part, no share in their scraps with each other—because they have their troubles the same as we do. You think it is an awful thing for two of these trade unions to have troubles with each other, but Lord, look at us and the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) You think it is terrible when they make mistakes, but, good heavens, I would like to know, down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make it. (Laughter and loud applause.) But, they are like us again in this further respect: they have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right. (Cries of "Good" and loud applause.)

As a concluding word I want to impress upon your minds just one thing: This has been a splendid convention. There is one thing about it, that, with all of our, what we might call bungling methods merely, of doing business, simply to the fact that because of our not being accustomed to the tools, we do not know how to use them rightly; with all that, there is this thing that I have observed clearly in this convention. It is this: that absolute openness, frankness and good faith with which every comrade met every other comrade, both in debate and otherwise, no matter in what measure he disagreed with him. We must cultivate, we must at all times do everything that we can, to keep up that spirit of having everybody speak out in meeting, no matter who it is, no matter what his opinion may be. Don't, whatever you do, try to keep it quiet, don't try to carry it out by conspiracy, by plotting or by scheming. Out with it, and let it stand upon its merits. If it is a good plan or a good scheme you have got in your head, bring it out and we will take it. If it is not good, we will show where it is wrong, and so let no man imagine that if he speaks for some scheme that is not good that it will hurt him. It will do him good to find out what is the matter with it. (Loud applause.)

And, comrades, when you go back home, remember that we all agree that this convention has been the great-

est Socialist convention ever held in the United States, much greater than any other. (Applause.) Not only greater in numbers, but in the general character and quality and ability of the assembled delegates. But do not forget this, that your work does not stop with this convention. Do not forget, whatever you do, that not only from the time that you get home, but when you start for home, the campaign for International Socialism has begun. (Prolonged applause.) It won't run itself, and we haven't got any capitalist to run it for us. It is going to be run by you people and the people that send you, and what I say to you is, do all that you can, not only to arouse yourselves and your comrades, but to inspire them with the hope and the promise of success. Progress! What movement on the face of this earth that stood for one hundredth part as much has ever made such rapid progress as this Socialist movement has, the world over? (Loud cheering and applause.)

Do you know, Comrades, that twenty years ago I had never read the word "Socialism" to have the remotest idea of what it meant, other than in a dictionary or something of that kind? Do you know that fifteen or sixteen years ago that if a man had been located, say in Davenport, Ia., or in any other town of two or three hundred thousand in the United States, and wanted to find out what Socialism meant (I mean an American born), he would have had to hire a detective to find somebody that could tell him. (Laughter and applause.) You talk about progress; I tell you, my friends, that while in certain states from time to time you may be discouraged, the burden may seem to you too heavy; while in certain states from time to time there may be the darkest outlooks, don't forget that this old movement is going marching on, and nothing on this earth can stop it.

You have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth have ever had before. In all previous revolutions, none of them, not one of them, ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people. Take the war of the Rebellion: all it could do was to liberate the black slaves from chattel slavery and make wage slaves of them. Go back to the Revolutionary war and all they could do was to take our political liberties for ourselves and get our political independence from King George. But this movement does not propose to free me and leave another man a slave; this movement does not propose to free the people of Cook county and leave all the rest of the people up against it. This movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they be, whatever color they may be, for all time. This movement is not only worth living for (loud applause), but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

To bring about the furtherance of this thing, I say to you, let your hearts be as true as steel, be steel to the very back; put your soul and body both into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country.

Delegate Hanford was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering and applause at the conclusion of his speech, and when quiet had been restored, the regular order of business was proceeded with, as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Comrade George D. Herron, International Secretary for the United States:

DEL. HERRON: If I were sure that the Chairman would not call me to order, I would say that things are coming so fast this afternoon that I can hardly keep up with them, especially when I find my good friend, Benjamin Hanford, nominated as the Socialist candidate for Vice President. (Laughter and applause.)

Report of the International Socialist Bureau by the Secretary for the United States.

Comrades of the National Convention: The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement of Europe.

The purpose of its formation was to constitute an International Bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other,

and co-operate with each other in mutually understood programs, and, so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the Bureau's formation.

But it cannot be said that the Bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occurred at its semi-annual sessions. Perhaps its most significant action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome and Brussels, that created no little discussion, and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result, many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the Bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibility for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance and is much more extreme than the report which I sent to the Bureau upon this subject.

But on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunity. It is not worth while for Socialist men—all of them overworked in their own national movement—to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasureably worth while that the great International Socialist movement shall be fused in one great dynamic world body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice and one power in every great question, in every great nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which every nation must reckon with.

If the Socialist movement had the balance of power, if it even had only one-third, we will say, of the suffragists of Russia and Japan, if it only had one-third enough to hold the balance of power, it could prevent a war between Russia and Japan, and not only that, but it could practically compel the disarmament of the whole world. That, acting through its representatives, if the Socialist movement held the balance of power politically in the different nations, that acting through its representatives in this bureau, or through them carrying out its instructions, the International Socialist movement might make it impossible for one nation to go to war with another simply because of the centralizing of the influence or of the forces of the Socialist movement in the nation, when it were needed.

So, the poet's dream of the federation of the world, and the parliament of man, is germinal in the International Socialist Bureau, and it is only by recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the Bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it ill becomes the member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the Bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the Bureau's existence, and has paid nothing towards its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the Bureau, and is a convention, not a Bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the Bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 251½ francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual, and for the Social Democratic party, before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States, as a movement, has paid nothing at all in the four years since the Bureau's formation.

I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or $200.00, be settled upon as our present annual contribution.

Fraternally submitted,

GEORGE D. HERRON.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report of the National Secretary of the United States for the International Socialist Bureau. What is your pleasure?

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move that the report be received and the recommendation be concurred in.

Motion seconded.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to amend the report by striking out that portion of the report relating to the $200, and that that portion be referred to the National Committee, and I do so for this reason: That $200 will not be sufficient at this time to meet the increased expense that the convention has provided for, and it would be well for us to see our way clear before we commit ourselves to any further expense. Now that, I think, would be the wiser plan to follow.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Herron has the floor. He desires to speak on this matter.

DEL. HERRON: I would like to state in reference to this recommendation, that in a certain sense we are under what might be called a moral obligation to add our part towards the support of the Bureau, for this reason: That we did at the time of its formation accept a membership in the Bureau and were elected to that Bureau, and it does not look well to receive the quarterly report and find that Germany has paid so much, and France so much, and Italy so much, and England so much, and the United States nothing. Now this, understand, is not to pay the expenses of any American member, whoever he might be; no provision is made for that. This is simply to pay our part towards the maintenance of the headquarters of the Bureau at Brussels, in which the Socialist movements of all the nations have paid their part.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to support the recommendation of the International Secretary as against the amendment proposed by Delegate Kerrigan. I do so partly because I am one of the original framers of the motion which resulted in the formation of the International Bureau. Before that was presented to the International Congress at Paris which gave it birth, it was the pleasure of my good Comrade Herron and myself to frame the motion and the plan upon which the Bureau was established. Now, I confess, Comrades, that I am so far disappointed in the results of the effort to establish a Bureau. The idea of the formation of the International Socialist Bureau was briefly this: that just so surely as the old International was a power for the expression of the International working class sentiment, and just so surely as it was a power before the shaking thrones of Europe at that time, I say now when we have a far greater movement, when we have a far more important movement, when we are confronted with far more important and far more menacing conditions, the working class movement of the world ought at all times to be able to act in concert upon any contingency which might arise, and I desire to emphasize the point which has already been made by Comrade Herron at the speech delivered after the famous banquet on Sunday night, and that point briefly is this: that the working class movement of the world has now arrived at a point where it is powerful enough whenever it so desires, if it can act in harmony, it can prevent the international capitalist class doing many things which they desire to do and which they may do it we do not prevent them. (Applause.) Now, Comrades, the International Bureau has done little, and why has this been? Why, because in the main the working class movement has been indifferent to its opportunities and indifferent to its responsibilities. If we, or any men, want to belong to the International movement, we must accept our share of the responsibilities of the International movement, and we cannot accept that responsibility merely by pious resolutions. We have got an office in Brussels of the International Bureau, we have a United States secretary and we have an International machinery, but we refuse, or have refused up to now, to make any contribution to that power which alone can make that machinery efficient and which alone can set it in motion. Therefore, I am in favor of the committee's recommendation that we contribute 1,000 francs now. I believe

it is not too much to pay for our contribution to the Bureau. I believe it is rather too little, and I hope that by the time we have another convention of the American Socialist Party, we shall have helped to make the Bureau the power which it ought to be, and that we shall be prepared to contribute much more than $200 to its support. (Loud applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I desire to offer the following: "Resolved, that the National Committee be instructed to formulate rules for the election by referendum of as many representatives to the International Socialist Bureau as the party may be entitled to, and for the payment of the dues of this party to the said Bureau." If that is seconded I will state my reasons.

The resolution was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: We have already provided by constitution that the Secretary has charge of national and the international affairs of his party. We have so far nowhere no rule absolutely, whatsoever, for the election of our delegates to the International Bureau. We may only have to elect one or we may have to elect more than that. The only other Socialist party in this country, the Socialist Labor party, has elected none, so we are really entitled to two. There has been no provision, however, whatsoever, as to the election of these representatives. We have provided for no reports to the National Committee at stated intervals to be published in the party press, which I presume will be very desirable and keep the members posted on what we are doing in the International movement. Finally, we have not paid a cent to the support of the Bureau. Now I do not know whether the payment of this $200 is now required. I notice, however, that while the International Bureau has done less work possibly than it was expected to do, it has incurred less expense, and for this reason, and in order that we may have definite action on this matter, I move the passage of that resolution.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I want to speak in favor of my amendment. In the first place, the last thing to be done in any convention is the adoption of the constitution. I called the attention of the convention last evening to just what has now occurred. Until after a report of all committees you never should take up the constitution. That is the most important thing for the regulation of the organization for the next four years, and we find it occurring now and it will occur again, that unless you wait until at least a partial report of the committees, before taking up the constitution, these difficulties will arise. I move, therefore, that that portion of the report be retired in relation to the payment of money, and that it be referred to the Committee on Constitution, and that other matters which come up during the evening be sent to them. Then they can come in and make a final report and before we adjourn we can conclude the final approval or disapproval of the report in the vote on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Constitution as a whole. That is what should be done.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that that part of the International Secretary's report which recommends the payment of a certain sum to the International Bureau, shall be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The question was then put on the motion and it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question reverts upon the report. The motion before us now is upon the acceptance of the report of the Secretary as read.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order under the rules of order is the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress.

International Delegates.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to offer a resolution under this head:

Resolved, first: That this convention now proceed to the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Amsterdam in August, 1904. Second: That the election of such delegates be by ballot, and that the three candidates receiving the largest number of votes upon such ballot serve as such delegates. Third: That this convention and the National Committee of the party shall be authorized to issue credentials for the attendance at the International Congress as delegates of the party, to such and as many additional members in good standing in

the party, not exceeding twenty in all, as may apply for such credentials, intending to attend said Congress at their own expense. Fourth: That no state or local organization of the party shall issue credentials to delegates to the said International Congress.

The resolution was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to state the reasons for this resolution. In the first place, I advocate the election of three delegates to the International Congress. I believe the time has come when our party ought to assert itself in the international movement. Up to the present, in fact, we have had no Socialist movement in the United States worth speaking of. When the last convention was held in 1900, especially, the Socialist movement in this country was so much torn, it was divided into so many different factions, that it was absolutely impossible to speak of an organized Socialist movement in this country. For the first time in the history of the movement in this country we have now a solid, strong, promising and growing organization of national scope. For the first time in the history of our movement we have almost all of the states and territories in the Union represented in national convention, and I say the time has arrived when we ought to take a place among the nations of the world in the movement of Socialism. (Applause.) Three delegates is not any too large a number. And I wish to state also that this is not only on mere sentimental grounds. The international movement reacts on each and every national movement represented in it. A good showing at the International Congress strengthens the national organizations of the different countries, because it strengthens the entire international movement. Just in the same as when we have strengthened the organization of our respective states by this splendid convention, just in the way as we will have inspired new enthusiasm and courage in the hearts of our different local organizations and state organizations by this national convention, so the international convention will inspire new hope and enthusiasm and visions of success in the hearts of the various national movements. And I say it is our duty to contribute our share to make that success a fact by having at least three official representatives of the party in the International Congress. In the next place, also provide that the National Committee or this convention should have the right to issue additional credentials to such as expect to attend the congress at their own expense. I know personally of a number of comrades who expect to go abroad in the summer and who would gladly embrace the opportunity to be present at the International Congress. At the same time we ought to restrict this power to issue credentials to the national organization, for this reason: Up till now it has been customary for every local, for every state, for every organization, to issue credentials. At the International Congress it will be recognized, no matter by whom issued, since the organization issuing it stands on the principles and the platform of the class struggle and political action. Now, I want to say that occasionally we may place our movement in a very unenviable light through these loose methods. For instance, at the first of the series of the last international conventions in Paris, America was represented by a delegate from an association of coach owners and cab owners. That was the kind of labor organization represented there. There was another delegate supposed to represent the United German trades who unfortunately did not find his way to the Congress and came back and reported that he could not find it. Paris was a big city, and little conventions were lost. If you go through the history of all those conventions and look at the reports of our party at those conventions, you will find that they were anything but a credit to it. And I say that no matter who the various persons may be, whether they be from the local or the state, when they go to the congress, they will be regarded as the representatives of our party, and we should at least be able to know who goes and who sends them. I know of one comrade who has already obtained credentials from the state convention of New Jersey. I happen to know that comrade, and I happen to know that he is a very excellent comrade and will make a good representative. That comrade should receive credentials from the National Committee. There may be others who may be good comrades, but who will not do as representatives of this nation, as far as the Socialist movement is concerned, in the International Congress of Socialists. They cannot prop-

erly represent us, and I say we ought to have control over this, and it is for this reason that I provide that state or local organizations shall not issue credentials to delegates at the International Convention. (Applause.)

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I understand from Comrade Hillquit's resolution that the delegates to be elected shall defray their own expenses. Am I correct?

DEL. HILLQUIT: No, I do not say that.

DEL. HAYES: Then I misunderstood the resolution.

DEL. HILLQUIT: You certainly did.

DEL. HAYES: I beg your pardon.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I said three delegates to be elected by this convention, and I further said this convention and the National Committee to have the power to issue additional credentials to such comrades as might happen to go abroad and intend to be there and want credentials.

DEL. HAYES: Then the party is to pay the expenses of the delegates, of course.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Certainly.

DEL. HAYES: All right; that is satisfactory.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I would like to say a word. I dislike to be eternally bringing up anything that relates to the conduct of party affairs, but facts are stubborn things, and they are apt to disturb us at the critical moment. Sending three delegates will be a nice thing for the party, and an international gathering over there will also be a good thing for the world Socialist movement, but the question is the material side of this thing, and Socialists are obliged to admit that it is the material, after all, that determines a man's and a party's course. Now, we know that the National Committee had to surrender the right of meeting and passing upon party affairs last January, because it was thought that it was to the best interest of the party to wipe out a debt and save the amount that this committee meeting would cost. Here we are proposing to create additional expense without any possible means for increasing the revenues, and the national office will probably find itself at the conclusion of this convention with a deficit. I would like to know where all these funds are going to come from. I like always to have any additional expense if there is also provided means for raising those funds. That is the practical way to look at these things. I think we should not send delegates unless the party does pay the expense. I think furthermore that we can well afford to wait until such time as there are funds. I would like to see a balance once in a while in the report of the National Secretary. It would make us feel that we could go on with our work in the nation. We have a national campaign on hand, and this summer will be a very good time to use all the funds we can possible raise at home.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that we proceed to nominate.

The Secretary being called on, read the Hillquit resolution to the convention.

DEL. KERRIGAN: Does that mean that they shall pay their own expenses? The language of that resolution seems to be that they shall pay their own expenses.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the third paragraph provides that those who receive credentials direct from the National Committee shall pay their own expenses, but the second paragraph, providing for the election of three delegates, says nothing at all as to whether they shall pay their own expenses or not.

DEL. OSWALD (N. J.): I think with Delegate Kerrigan, that we are going a little too far with the expenditure of money. We have already voted to increase the salary of the National Secretary. We have a recommendation from the Committee on State and Municipal Platform which calls for the election of a secretary for the special work of attending to the preliminary work on municipal and state platform, at a salary of $1,000 a year, and I think we would feel rather ashamed to go back to our constituencies and say that we have added this additional burden to the national finances. Therefore, I move you that for the word "three" in the report offered, the word "one," making it read 'one delegate." Seconded.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I rise for information. I never made the trip across, and I do not know how much it costs. Can we get some idea how much the expense of three delegates will be,

or one delegate, so that we can act intelligently?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask Comrade Max Hayes, who attended the British Trade Union Congress as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor last year, as to what he would estimate the cost to be. Is Comrade Hayes in the hall?

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I want to say that the Federation of Labor allows its fraternal delegates to Great Britain $300 each, but a delegate traveling alone, of course, can go there and pay his expenses on the $300 and remain, as they usually do, and visit the various industrial centers for several weeks. I believe that the trip could be made to Amsterdam direct and return for about $200.

A DELEGATE: $200 for expenses?

DEL. HAYES: Yes, expenses.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that all, Comrade Hayes?

DEL. HAYES: That is all I know. Question called for on the amendment.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I just as much dislike arguing for what seems to be extravagance as other delegates dislike arguing on the other side, but I want to say that there comes a time when it is seemingly unwise to balance a hundred dollars, more or less, against certain well-defined interests in the party. (Applause.) As to the probable expense, I have no doubt at all that three men elected from, let us say one from the east, one from the middle west and one from the west, if you like,—that the whole business could be done, well, safely say, and a comfortable margin left, if you devote five or six hundred dollars for the expense. A delegate says no. All right. I have done the work, and I know something about it, and I say that it can be done for about $150 to $200 per delegate, and that without inflicting any sort of hardship upon the men elected as delegates. (Applause.) Now, then, comrades, I say this: that at this convention in particular there is an especial reason why the Socialist party of America should be well represented. In the first place, the faction of a party that once was and now is only a memory, is sending all its party membership as its delegation in the person of Daniel De Leon. (Laughter.) And that Daniel De Leon, the Socialist Labor party of America, will, I have no doubt, do all that lies in its power to vilify, to calumniate, to misrepresent alike the personnel and the character of the Socialist party of this country. Now, comrades, whatever you say, the opinion and the good will and the good faith of your European comrades means something to the Socialist party of America, and if for no other reason than that we should go there to vindicate our position and party integrity, it would be money well spent and we ought not to consider the saving of that money. But there is another reason, and this reason goes deeper, and is of importance on both sides of the Atlantic. It is this: that during the past year or two the movement at home has been devoting itself largely to the study of what we in this country call the trust question, and upon the discussion of that trust question as they have it in Europe there has been in large part a factional fight which has done something, at any rate, to disrupt the European movement. Now, the views of the American delegation to that conference upon this particular question would be of immense advantage to the European movement, and I say that we owe it to the International Socialist movement that we send a delegation from America that will present this question of the concentration of capital and capitalist power from the point of view of the country that has it in larger measure than any other. (Applause.) And for this reason I am in favor of the motion to send three delegates at the expense of the party. I am in favor of the recommendation that if there be twenty good men and true, or good women and true, who desire to represent the party, they should be given credentials to it, and I hope that when our International Congress meets in Amsterdam we shall have a delegation from the Socialist party of America worthy of the present strength of the party, worthy of its intellectual character, worthy of its prospects, and second to no delegation in that congress. (Applause.)

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I wish to endorse the remarks of Comrade Spargo on the matter of sending three delegates to the Amsterdam Congress. I believe that the expense—say it will average $200 per delegate—can very easily be proportioned among the various states, the amount raised and sent to the

national headquarters. I believe that it is necessary to send three delegates, by reason of the experience that I had while across the water last fall. I want to say to you delegates here this afternoon that our European brothers and comrades have practically no conception of the tremendous labor movement of the United States and of the various social upheavals that have taken place in this country during the past dozen years. The question of trusts, to the average European, is a closed book, although they are at the present time beginning to feel the same pressure from the capitalist class above that we have felt in this land during the past six or eight years. But it is true that practically no news sifts through the cables between the American and the European industrial centers. You can take your leading London daily newspapers, and all of the American reports, whether they be of a general news nature, of a political nature or otherwise, are condensed into about half a column. There is never any mention made of any industrial struggle here. There is never the semblance of a word regarding the growth, expansion and victories, local though they may be, of the Socialist movement of this country, and for that reason it becomes necessary that we send our delegates there to inform our comrades on the other side of the water as to the exact conditions that exist in the United States, whether they be intellectual, political, social or otherwise. I am heartily in favor of the proposition to send three delegates, and am satisfied that we can very easily raise the funds. (Applause.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I was among those advocating the reducing of the monthly dues to three cents. I have been doing a little arithmetic here, and if my practice is not wrong two cents for one month from each member of the present organization would pay these expenses as estimated. And I count it well worth much more than two cents that each member be represented as he would be by three men who could be selected. I sympathize with Comrade Kerrigan in immediate difficulties. It is not what we have done, it is not what we have on hand; it is what we can do that will be the inspiration of this party, and that will make possibilities all the while. I am in favor of three delegates, and of paying their expenses.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I am opposed to sending three delegates to Europe. I am opposed to this motion or to this resolution for two reasons: In the first place, we are in a national campaign. I believe we need all the funds we can get to carry on a successful campaign. When you elect three delegates to the congress, you will certainly try to elect the best ones, the best element you can get, and I believe, as we are now in a national campaign, we ought to keep the best element at home to do some good work at home. (Applause.) I do not believe that three of our best men should be sent over to Europe while we need them at home to make the battle. We need every good man at home, and when the time comes that the Socialist party of America grows to cast a million votes, then our European comrades will soon enough learn about the growth of the Socialist movement. (Applause.)

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.)): I rise to a point of information. I would like to be informed in what language the deliberations of the congress are carried on.

DEL. HOEHN: In three languages.

DEL. BENESSI: Which languages?

DEL. HERRON: They will be in three languages; French, English and German.

DEL. BENESSI: Then I think there should be three delegates or two delegates, because I am not in favor of twenty delegates. I would be in favor of a very small number of delegates, and those delegates to be chosen, if we possibly can, from among the proletarians, and at the same time from among the comrades that can speak at least two or three languages. I would be in favor of that.

DEL. REILLY (N. Y.): I wish to speak in support of Comrade Oswald's amendment providing for one delegate instead of three. While I recognize the importance of the Socialist Party of America being adequately represented at the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress, and while I recognize the advisability of not quibbing at the expense of sending a delegate or two more, there is one question that must be met, and that is, where are the funds to come from? During the past year, from my personal experience from having some dealings with the national office, I know that the National Secre-

tary has been at his wits' ends as to how funds could be secured to pay the expenses incident to the necessary work of the party here in this country at the present time. No doubt the National Secretary can testify that much has been left undone because the amount necessary for it could not be obtained. As to the desirability of having three delegates present, especially with the National Committee as authority to issue credentials to twenty men, if they so desired to go and pay their own expenses, because the Socialist Labor party will be there, I want to say that the American Socialist movement is not so weak as to require three of its best men to match De Leon in replying to his misrepresentations. (Applause.) We have any number of men singly who are more than a match for him in ability to defend the Socialist Party against any calumination he may bring against it.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I want to repeat the sentiment just uttered by the delegate from New Jersey. It seems to me absurd to go on spending money to send three delegates across the water to be an antidote to De Leon. We are providing for a lot of expenses. We have advanced the salary of the Secretary. We have had to advance the expense of all those associated with him in the office, and we will have a big office force. We have a proposition here before us for a $1,000 salaried officer to take care of the State and Municipal Program business. We seem to think that we have got a big treasury. I hope we will have. We have just barely paid a big debt of our old organization. I want to ask in conclusion, what good can three do over one? Let us save our money and keep our men at home. There will be plenty of men over there. Comrade Hillquit has said there are others that want to go and will go anyhow, and we will be well represented, and I do not see any reason especially for three, especially one from the Pacific coast, which would cost $150 for expenses in this country alone to come from the Pacific to the Atlantic as to cross the ditch. Let us stay at home, do our work and save our money.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I am like Delegate Titus. I am opposed to three, or even one. I think we have a job on hand that will take all the energy of every man in the movement, and there is no one that we can possibly spare to do the work at the present time in the Presidential campaign. I can assure the comrades that there is a great deal of hard work to be done. It is even a hard matter to raise the necessary funds required to do the work in the states at home, and the result is that wherever we need a lot of men to work they are hard to get, and if we have more funds in the state the state would have a larger membership and we should have a larger vote at each election. It may be all right for the comrades to go that fortunately can spare every once in a while a five or ten-dollar bill or more for the advancement of the cause, but the majority of the members are not in a position to do that, and especially right now, because there are states where in some of the locals a majority of the members are not at work and are not even able to keep up their dues. We increased the salary of the Secretary. We have provided for another $1,000 expense. We want to provide the means to have a lot of books and pamphlets and tracts to furnish the members with. In all that we are providing for expense, and in no way are we providing for additional revenue to do the additional work. I agree with the comrades so far as representation at the International Congress is concerned, but at the same time I think we can stand it for a few months until we are better financially able to do the work. This year is a most important year in the history of Socialism in America, and I think we have about all we can do in this year from now until next November. I read the reports of the International Bureau, and I can say that I was as much disappointed as any man could be. I know the international movement as well, I suppose, as a good many do, because I have been in the movement long enough, and I say that there were some questions discussed that to me, with the industrial development of to-day, are absolutely puerile, that are not fit to be talked of. That is the way I look at it. It is far more important to me to see every working man in the United States in the ranks of the Socialist Party. That is the most important task that we have had for years, and the only one that I think is worth considering and spending money on. I want to make more Socialists, and I want to make them right where I live, and I

guess every other comrade is in the same condition. Talk is very cheap, but it takes money to buy food. I have witnessed the progress of the party in New York and some states where they have been organized twenty years. I was in the movement sixteen years ago in New York, and I have been in the movement fifteen years in the South, and we have made more progress in the last three or five years than has been made in any other section, considering the time that Socialism has been known. And right here we want to saddle six or eight hundred dollars on the shoulders of the comrades, and when I go home what will they say? They will say, "You must be a millionaires' club by the way you have been throwing money around." I think it is about time we put a stop to it. I have taken no part in the debate on many questions, for the simple reason that I thought it was not necessary, but now that a question comes up that I do not think is necessary, I am going to kick, and there are others of the same kind. Comrade Spargo illustrates it very well, and Comrade Herron too. I agree with them, but this is not the most important matter to us. Let us build up the party and get more members; then we can attend the congress and send not only three, but three hundred, and I will be glad when the time comes.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I am in favor of the amendment that has been made to send one. I feel that we can find one member that is able to represent this party at the Amsterdam Congress, and I would be sorry if we would send three delegates because one party in this country has decided to send De Leon. A few years ago the papers, at least so far as the French papers were concerned, did not take into much consideration the Socialist party here. I do not believe it is necessary to send one man, so far as that part of the program is concerned. To-day the papers of the revolutionary party of France know exactly what De Leonism means, at least so far as I have been able to read them, and I hope that if we send one or three, we send them not with the notion that they are needed there because De Leon is going. I think that is the worst mistake we have made, in so far as talking about De Leon. The French newspapers, the revolutionary French papers to-day—and although I don't read the German papers, because I cannot read German, I suppose it will be the same with the German papers—exactly understand De Leon to-day, and he can go to Amsterdam and tell all the stories that he thinks necessary, and they won't believe him.

The previous question was moved, seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs upon the resolution.

DEL. TITUS: I move as a further amendment to the resolution that we elect an alternate. Seconded.

The amendment of Delegate Titus was then put and carried, and the resolution as amended was adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are now in order.

ELECTION OF INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE.

The following nominotions were made:

May Wood Simons (Ill.), by Hazlett (Colo.)

J. S. Smith (Ill.), by ————

A. M. Simons (Ill.), by J. S. Smith (Ill.).

Spargo (N. Y.), by ————

Hillquit (N. Y.), by Reynolds (Ind.).

Herron (N. Y.), by Menton (Mich.).

Wilson (Cal.), by Cogswell (Kan.).

Hayes (Ohio), by ————

Berger (Wis.), by Robinson (Ky.).

Carey (Mass.), by ————

Unterman (Ill.), by ————

Hillquit, seconded by Titus (Wash.).

Mailly (Neb.), by ————

Lamb (Mich.), by Berger (Wis.).

Delegate Miller (Colo.), moved that the nominations close. Seconded and carried.

While the names were being placed on the blackboard, Delegate Phelan (Ill.) extended an invitation to the delegates, on behalf of the Third Ward Branch of Cook County Local to attend an entertainment at their headquarters, 3345 State street, this (Thursday) evening. Also an invitation from the German Women's Socialist Club to attend an entertainment Friday evening after the adjournment of the national convention, at Trade Union Hall, 55 North Clark street.

DEL. WORK (Iowa): I move that the candidate receiving the second highest vote be the alternate. Seconded and carried.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move that it require a majority of the whole vote, not simply a plurality. Seconded.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I move that that motion be laid on the table. Seconded.

The motion to lay on the table was adopted.

The list of nominees was called off by the Chairman, and Herron, Wilson, Hayes, Berger, Carey, Mailly and Lamb declined. Mrs. Simons was not present.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did the delegate who nominated Mrs. Simons have her authority.

DEL. HAZLETT: No, I did not have authority.

Delegate Smith (Ill.) assumed authority to withdraw the name of May Wood Simons.

DEL. HAZLETT: I don't know that Comrade Smith has any more authority to withdraw Mrs. Simons' name than I to nominate her. If Mr. Simons happens to be the delegate she might be the alternate and might go.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): As a delegate from Illinois, I think it would be very unfair to run Mr. Simons as against Mrs. Simons for this election. Of course, if she consents, I have nothing more to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think, under the circumstances, as Comrade Smith has no authority to use or withdraw Mrs. Simons' name, her name should be retained on the blackboard. (Applause.)

Delegate Kerrigan moved that if no election was had on the first ballot the two lowest in the list should be dropped.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is understood that if no one is elected on the first ballot the lowest will be dropped.

The vote was then directed to be collected by the secretaries of the state delegations and handed to the secretary of the convention.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Before we proceed to vote, and while the tellers are preparing, I desire to ask the Chairman if it is necessary to suspend the rules in order to abolish the night session this evening. I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should so rule.

DEL. BARNES: Then before I make a motion I would state, if it is in order, that there has been a call issued for a meeting of state secretaries and organizers of the party. They have not as yet come together. There are at least two committees who have minor matters to bring up to date and consider in order to be able to report intelligently and conclude their report upon the matters in hand. The delegates have been very faithful in their attendance on the day sessions and night sessions. My idea is to abandon the meeting to-night in order to permit the work of the convention in the hands of committee to get in shape to be dispatched readily on to-morrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion will be in order.

DEL. BARNES: I am prefacing the motion very briefly. I believe that it is impossible for us to conclude our work to-night. There will of necessity be to-morrow's session, but if we do not have a night session we can easily conclude our work to-morrow, and a little better by reason of not having a night session. For these reasons I move that the rules be suspended and that we do not have a night session this evening.

Motion seconded.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I hope the motion will not prevail. We have been here the greatest part of a week, and many of us must soon leave for home. We want to remain until the close of the convention if possible. If we hold a session to-night it will expedite matters so that perhaps we can finish up in time to get away on the evening trains to-morrow. I want to see this motion voted down.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): We are in the same position. Three of our delegates left last night, and five of us will have to leave to-night on the midnight train. There are only about two left, the others having important business to transact at home, and we cannot help it, but must leave to-night. I would like to attend a night session.

THE CHAIRMAN (Delegate Mailly): I wish to make a statement on behalf of the National Secretary and the state secretaries. We have been trying all week to get a conference of the state secretaries and of the national organizers. Various things have happened to prevent us from holding that conference. We believe that such a conference is of great value to the party, and I believe we can very well adjourn to-night and let us come together and consider and give us an opportunity to come to an understanding that will result

in systematizing our work. If this conference is held we can talk and go over different things about which we ought to confer, and I hope we will be given the opportunity.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to go home to-morrow, but I want to protest against doing away with this evening's session. My local sent me here to do work. I have to leave to-morrow on the three o'clock train, and I want to see the business of this convention done before that time, and if we adjourn to-night we will waste time. The same way with other comrades.

DEL. STEDMAN: I think the trouble with the time at these conventions is always on the first day. You had a banquet that night, when as a matter of fact you should have been adopting rules for the convention. If you had worked the first day like you have since we would be nearer final adjournment. You should have given your committees time to work at night, instead of requiring the members to be in attendance at the convention. If you had followed this plan we would have been through to-day. I think we should now adjourn. I think the first order of business to-morrow should be the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program, which will enable us to finish early to-morrow.

The motion to suspend the rules requiring a night session was put and carried.

Delegate Stedman moved that the first order of business to-morrow (Friday) morning be the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Cross (Wis.) moved to suspend the rules until the convention had voted upon the matter before the house. Seconded and carried.

ASS'T SECY. CROSS (Wis.): I would like to make one announcement, that will take perhaps but two or three minutes. The assistant secretary finds it necessary for him to return to Madison, Wis., in order that he may resume his studies in the university to-morrow morning. I have already spent over a week from home, and find it necessary to return by the three o'clock train to-morrow morning. Therefore it is with the greatest regret that I say adieu to the delegates of this convention. (Applause.)

On motion of Delegate Irene Smith (Ore.) a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered to Assistant Secretary Cross for the work he performed as assistant secretary of the convention.

The vote on International Delegate was then announced, as follows: Hillquit, 46; Untermann, 37; A. M. Simons, 35; Spargo, 15; May Wood Simons, 14.

THE CHAIRMAN: If agreeable to the house, according to customary rule, the last two lowest ones will be dropped.

Delegate Berger (Wis.) moved to adjourn till to-morrow morning. Seconded, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: That leaves the matter of final election of a delegate for to-morrow morning. That will be the first order of business, after which will come the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The convention then adjourned until Friday morning.

SIXTH DAY'S SESSION—MORNING

National Secretary Mailly called the convention to order at 9 o'clock.

The following nominations were made for Chairman for the day:

Stedman (Ill.), by Gaylord (Wis.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Collins (Ill.).

Barnes declined.

On motion the nominations were closed and Delegate Stedman, being the only nominee, was unanimously elected.

Nominations for vice-chairman were made as follows:

W. W. Wilkins (Cal.), by Titus (Wash.).

Kolachney (Okla.), by Hayes (Okla.).

On motion of Delegate Nagel (Ky.) the nominations were closed.

A rising vote being taken, Delegate Wilkins was elected vice-chairman.

DEL. HERRON: At the close of the session last evening we were engaged in the election of International Delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is in order.

DEL. HERRON: I make a motion that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes be considered the delegate, and the candidate receiving the next highest the alternate.

THE CHAIRMAN: Unless there is objection that will be the order.

No objection was heard.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): There seem to be many delegates absent this morning, and owing to the lateness of their arrival I will make a motion that the vote be held open till 10 o'clock in order to give those now absent an opportunity to vote; that the vote close at 10 o'clock, until which time votes can be handed in at any time. And I move to suspend the rules for that purpose.

Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): Mr. Chairman, I desire to present a communication from Local Denver.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will read the communication from Denver before the report.

Secretary Dobbs read the communication referred to, as follows:

"To the National Convention of the Socialist party:

"Comrades: The following resolution was adopted by Local Denver at its regular business meeting held April 27, 1904:

"Whereas, there is among Socialists in the United States a difference of opinion upon the question of what is known as the immediate demands; and

"Whereas, we as Socialists have no clearly defined program to guide us in the transition from the capitalistic system to the co-operative or collective system; and

"Whereas, from this time forward we may expect to elect an increasing number of Socialists to membership in municipal councils and state legislatures, who will be compelled to act upon public questions in their official capacity; and

"Whereas, there being no municipal or legislative program endorsed officially by the Socialist party, such representatives must be guided each by his own personal judgment or by peculiar local conditions, and hence be liable to err, and thus hinder the work of the party and subject himself and the party to adverse criticism; and

"Whereas, the party should not place such responsibility upon its representatives, but should prepare a definite, specific program and then hold its representatives to a strict responsibility in their official acts in accordance therewith; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of Local Denver in regular session assembled, do hereby memorialize

and petition the National Convention of the Socialist party to appoint or elect a committee of three of its most able and judicious members to prepare a municipal and legislative program, said program to be submitted to a referendum vote of the entire party membership for adoption, and if ratified by a majority of all members voting thereon said program shall become a part of the official platform of the Socialist party."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the communication will be received and placed on file.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I move that it be referred to the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection it will be referred to the proper committee. Comrade Untermann has a report from the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

Report of Committee on State and Municipal Program.

DEL. UNTERMANN, on behalf of the Committee: Pursuant to instructions from this convention, your Committee on State and Municipal Program received the report of the permanent Municipal Committee elected by the Indianapolis Convention. That permanent Committee had taken great care in elaborating a municipal program, and your committee feels that the dispatch with which we have been able to do this work was due in great measure to the careful working which the permanent committee had chosen for the making of this municipal report, and we feel that the thanks of your committee are due to the permanent committee elected by the Indianapolis convention, and especially to its secretary, Comrade A. M. Simons. The greater part of the report of the permanent committee is embodied in the report of your committee here. The State Program is the main work which your present committee has done. I now proceed to read the report which your committee submits to you. You will notice from the reading that certain slight changes have been made from the printed copy, and I would suggest that you make notes of it when I come to the passages, so that we may all be able to discuss the question when it comes up for discussion.

Delegate Untermann then read the report, which will be found in the Appendix.

DEL. UNTERMANN (at the conclusion of the reading): I move that the report be adopted. Seconded.

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I move that this whole thing be laid on the table.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I rise to second the motion to adopt the report as a whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the committee's report be accepted and adopted. Comrade Untermann has the floor.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): Hasn't 10 o'clock arrived, the hour for voting on International Delegates?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has. You will please prepare your ballots. The candidates are Hillquit, Untermann and Simons.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. Has it not been decided by this convention that we shall elect one man and then submit the vote to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot tell you. I will inquire of the Secretary. ——There was no such provision made.

DEL. DALTON: I desire at this point to make a motion that the three names be submitted as the nominees of this convention, recommended to the Socialist party as candidates for Delegates to the International Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then your motion is to suspend the rules and substitute. The rules provide for election by the convention. You must make a motion, if you wish to do that, to suspend the rules.

DEL. DALTON: That was the point of information that I asked. Then I make a motion to suspend the rules for purpose of this motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: And you mean to refer these to a referendum?

DEL. DALTON: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any second to the motion?

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the rules be suspended and that the three names on the blackboard be referred to a referendum of the party for a vote, the one receiving the highest vote to be the delegate, and the next one the alternate.

DEL. HERRON: The majority of the members of the various branches will not understand the question as to

the International Delegate nearly as well as the members of this convention. The matter was here debated, and such information or instructions as will be given upon the question was given here, and the intention is here to get a representation that is consistent on just such questions as these. If the matter is referred to a referendum, it will, between now and the middle of July when the delegate must leave, or perhaps the first of July even, be practically impossible to get any adequate result, or to get any result that will be nearly as representative of an expression of the party's mind as in this convention here assembled.

DEL. DALTON: It appears to me that the names on the blackboard and the activity of those delegates in the party are sufficiently well known outside of this convention to the membership of the party that they can vote intelligently on this question. It appears further to me that this thing of submitting one man's name to the membership of the party for a referendum vote is a farce. If you are going to elect a man to the International Congress, elect him, and then don't go to a referendum with his name. There is no reason for all this haste. Before the middle of July you can get an expression of the party's opinion. The Socialist press will be in the hands of the membership before the end of next week in all parts of the country, telling them who these candidates are. It does not take very long for them to decide. They will decide according to the activity of these men, according to their active service in the party, according to their qualifications, and I claim that the membership is a good and sufficient judge of these matters. If we are going to have referendums, if we are going to preserve the principles of democracy, let us set the example ourselves.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I want to reiterate what I said on the subject of the referendum at an earlier stage in the proceedings of this convention. On all questions on which the referendum principle can be practically effective I shall vote in favor of the referendum principle, but I submit that in the selection of men to do given work none are better qualified to cast intelligent votes than those who have met these men in person and who are familiar with all the qualifications they may possess. It is not sufficient to know a man by the accounts of him. It is not sufficient to know of a man that his name frequently appears in the Socialist press. It is a fact that if this motion carries and we go to our respective constituencies, our respective locals will depend upon us who have been to this convention to tell them what we think of the respective merits of these candidates for this office, and that simply means that the delegates here will cast the vote of the membership just the same as they will do, only in more concrete and more intelligent and practical form, if this motion is voted down and we select our people here. We are fully competent to elect our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. We are equally as competent to elect our delegates to the International Socialist Conference, and we are violating no fundamental principle of their referendum when we decide upon doing that, and for that reason I submit that we ought to vote down this proposition and proceed with the election.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I desire to endorse what Comrade Herron has said, and add that I cannot understand why we should incur an additional expense and waste of time in this manner. As Comrade Sieverman properly says, it will devolve upon the delegates here anyway, and the various locals will ask our opinion of the men, and it is a waste of time. We ought not to place ourselves in the attitude of delaying when we have a chance to act on things coming up here. Let us decide on all the things we can, and save time and labor.

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I rise to a point of order. It is that we voted to proceed to vote on the candidates at 10 o'clock, and that the man receiving the highest number of votes should be declared elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is true, but you can always vote to suspend the rules.

DEL. FORD: But we have not done that.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, that was the motion of the comrade from Illinois.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I wish to ask for information. By the statement of the Comrade on my left that one name would be sent out to a referendum of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is that the three on the board be sent to a referendum. Now, you made an argument, while you rose to a point of information, to ask a question.

DEL. TAFT: My question is this: Will the name of the person, the one of the three who is elected here this morning, be sent out to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: There has been no motion to do that, up to the present time.

DEL. PARKS: I move the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot rise for that purpose. Comrade Gaylord has the floor.

DEL. GAYLORD: I was satisfied with what Comrade Sieverman said on the subject of the referendum. It should be employed only at the proper time and in the right place.

DEL. MAURER (Pa.): I agree with the amendment. I wish these Comrades to distinctly understand that this body does not constitute the brains of the Socialist party by any means. My opinion on this matter is that the Comrades at large know just as well who to select as this body does, and I approve of that amendment.

Delegate Parks moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now revert to the main question on the substitute calling for the suspension of the rules and the submission of the three names on the blackboard to a referendum vote, the highest to be the delegate and the next to be the alternate.

The substitute was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to ballot.

Here Vice-Chairman Wilkins took the Chair, and the vote on International Delegate was taken up. Pending the announcement of the vote, Delegate Untermann, on behalf of the State and Municipal Program Committee, addressed the convention.

DEBATE ON PROPOSED STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

DEL. UNTERMANN: To anticipate possible criticism and to dispatch the work of this convention, I beg leave to make a few remarks in introducing the subject and justifying the report of your committee. In the first place, it seems to me there can hardly be any discussion of the question that such a program is necessary at the present critical moment. Most probably we shall elect some comrades to state legislatures this fall. We already have elected quite a number to local administrations, and in various localities difficulties have arisen from the very fact that the comrades so elected did not have a program and did not know how to proceed along proletarian lines. If there is any possibility of any difference of opinion on this point it can only be on the question, "Shall we give them a certain set of instructions now, or shall we wait till we have elected a large number and give them a program when they ask for it?" To me it seems that it is much better to provide in advance for the demand for instructions which we know will come, instead of waiting until the necessity for instructions arises. We, in convention assembled here, are much more likely to agree on a general outline of suggestions by which our candidates may be guided than are the membership at large scattered over an enormous territory, with all the difficulties attending such a situation. In the second place, I wish to emphasize once more the fact that all the various positions and suggestions contained in the report of your committee are nothing but suggestions, and are not in any way mandatory or binding on any local administration or on any state, so long as we believe in the principle of local autonomy, and this convention has reaffirmed it. The National Committee has no power and this convention has no power to make any of these outlines mandatory. We realize, however, that a great number of states have already declared in favor of these suggestions and asked this convention and asked the National Committee to give them a certain set of instructions by which they may be guided in their activity in the local and state administrations. In the third place, I wish to justify the formulation of this report. It may have seemed to a good many of you that your committee took a long time to get this report before the convention, and that when it finally came it was very voluminous. As one delegate said, there was so much room on the back of it that we might at least have printed on the back of it a municipal bill of fare. Well, we might have done it if we could have agreed on a bill of fare. But the reason for making this report as voluminous as it is and for giving it the

form of general suggestions, was this: We realized that we would not come before this convention until very late, at a time when the delegates would be tired and would wish to go home, and we did not want this work to be considered in a rush. It is very important that every passage of this report should be well considered because it must stand for at least four years, unless amended by referendum, which would be very difficult; and for this reason your committee took great pains to go minutely over every single section, discussing it sentence by sentence and position by position, until we all unanimously agreed; and the fact that we could agree, although we represented so many different elements of the party, it seems to me should be an indication that this convention also should be able to agree unanimously on this report. (Applause.) Therefore we found it necessary to outline in a general way all the points that we thought would be met in talking with the workers by our elected comrades, and we used the form that we took in this report because we realized that any suggestions which we might make could only be general and not very detailed, and these suggestions we have given in such shape that they would form good propaganda material for our elected candidates in their class struggle in parliament. And therefore every single position has been worded so that our candidates if elected can make it the basis for fighting the class struggle in local administrations and state administrations, and clearly set forth the proletarian standpoint in every bill that they introduce. Without detaining you any longer, and in coming to a conclusion, I only wish to say a final word about methods of discussion. I have missed very much, in the course of the various discussions which we have had here, that fraternal spirit which should pervade the Socialist party. (Applause.) Personal animosity has entered into the discussions without any need, and has clouded the judgment of the delegates and made it impossible to discuss many of these great matters on their merits. If the materialistic conception of history in which we all believe teaches us anything it is this, that we are all creatures of our environments, and that if we differ in our ideas it is simply because we come from different environments. But this Socialist party of ours is an open forum; it is the melting pot in which these various differences of opinion can be thrown and melted into a mighty arm, and I hope that this convention which has just unanimously adopted the platform will unanimously adopt this report. (Applause.) I believe that the unanimous adoption of this report, as well as the unanimous adoption of your platform, will show to the world at large that the Socialist philosophy is not a basis for a materialistic philosophy, but is simply the affirmation of a new faith, the faith in the all-conquering power of the human brain, backed up by the Socialist philosophy. And in asking you to thus unanimously adopt the report, I am simply asking you to consider the moral effect which its adoption will have on the world at large. (Applause.)

At this point the Secretary announced the vote on International Delegate, as follows: Untermann, 57; Hillquit, 52; Simons, 32.

No name having a clear majority, a new ballot was ordered.

THE SECRETARY: According to the rule adopted the name lowest in the list will be dropped out, and the voting now will be on Untermann and Hillquit.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed to take a vote.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I want the floor to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot get the floor on that ground. We will take a vote. While we are taking the vote I want to make an explanation which will save a good deal of confusion. When the delegates rise in their different order, if they will just give their names I will mark their names on a slip, and then they will be called in order. In that way it will be unnecessary for five or six to take the floor. I will take them in their order and mark their names, and then as I put down their names they will be recognized and will be called. That will be the process.

The following delegates presented their names for the purpose of being placed on the Chairman's list: Ford (Minn.), Irene Smith (Ore.), Walsh (Mont.), Coggswell (Kan.), Dalton (Ill.), Lucas (Minn.), Parks (Kan.), Rose (Miss.), Mills, (Kan.).

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I do not

think it is necessary to take much time. I offer an amendment to the whole report. There can only be one dividing line here. But I will read the motion first, and then I want to say just a few words and all here will understand it thoroughly. I want to substitute for this whole report the following:

> "The National Convention recommends that in the event of any Socialists being elected in any localities on state or municipal tickets, that they be guided thereafter in all their legislative acts by considering, 'Is the legislation in the interest of the laboring class? If so, I am for it; if not, I am opposed to it.'"

Now, I do not see where this committee could have got this report that is offered here, except they might have clipped the last page from the Chicago American. (Applause.) It is ridiculous from start to finish. It is impossible to talk about it. It is ridiculous to recommend such a program as that to go over the United States. When you go into its details and the inconsistencies and the foolish whims, it is impossible for anybody to ferret it out. If you elect Socialists who have got to be guided by such a thing or suggestion as this you have not elected Socialists, and you had better keep them away from Montana. There is one city in Montana already where we elected Socialists, and where, while technically they are not in a majority, they are to a certain degree. They have continued to follow practices of the old politicians, in licensing prostitutes and licensing gamblers and turning affairs into a graft profit system. I say this, that we, as Socialists, cannot recommend such things as those. You cannot recommend such a silly program as this. We would not follow it, nor would any Socialist attempt to follow it. We might as well take it for a hat rack. There is no one but the Committee that could be guided by it. In the name of Heaven, I wonder how they could have done anything like this, except, as I say, they could have got the last page of Hearst's Chicago American and attached it on here. He advocates all these things. He tells you how to run these things, and it is impossible to show many reasons for not following him. If this was followed out on this plan you would have a program longer than the Chinese Bible. And so I say the division stands in this house this morning upon this proposition. Are we for the sentimental demands contained in this proposition, or are we for the rock of Socialism that stands for principles? (Applause.) Let us get on the right line. Let us get on the right rock, and go home, and don't let us go home until we go there right. There is no use in electing a class of 3 by 2 Socialists who, when they are in office, don't know what to do. If we are going to elect men that don't know what to do, who can't pass laws in the interests of the laboring people, for God's sake let the old parties elect them; we don't want to elect them. (Applause.)

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I simply rise at this time to second that motion.

At this point Secretary Dobbs announced the result of the last ballot on International Delegate, as follows:

Untermann, 80; Hillquit, 61.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Untermann is elected Delegate and Comrade Hillquit will act as alternate. Now, it has been moved and seconded that the substitute declaring that we are in favor of everything in the interest of the working class, instead of having a program, be adopted in place of the whole report. The next speaker is Comrade Smith.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): It seems to me that we, as intelligent men and women, can look at this question this morning in a calm, clear, intelligent manner. I know that every Socialist on this floor this morning wants that which is for the best good of the Socialist movement. I know I do, with all my soul. It is the Socialist movement we are working for, first, foremost, and forever, and from that standpoint I want to speak just a few words to you this morning. If we were about to elect our President and Vice-President, if we had to-day the senates of all of the states filled with our people, and if we thought we were about to take control of the government of this great country, this program then would be in perfect order with the situation. This program then would be probably just what the Socialists would undertake to carry into execution. But, comrades, let us remember that we are now a little minority faction, a small political faction in a great political field, with no

possibility of finding any work. To do what? To patch up this old system? Why, no, comrades. The work of the Socialist party of the world is not to patch up the old system; it is to inaugurate a new system (applause)—a new system, comrades; and this platform as it stands to-day represents patches to be placed upon the old system. You do not say here anything about the system being wrong, but you go to work and you give us so many plasters to put onto the weak spots of the old system. Now, what we want is a complete new system of government under which to work, and when we have the new system of government all of these things will follow as a matter of course. Now, comrades, this is what I say: I say, if we go out and carry to the people this lengthy program of promises that you know as well as I it would be absolutely impossible for us to carry out, you know we are but gathering the floating sentiments of the people and you know that that vote is always reactionary upon our movement. We do not want our men elected to the senate halls of this country by a vote excited by the sentiment of that paper. We want the men elected to our legislative halls with the one sole motive behind them, and that motive the complete destruction of the capitalist system. (Applause.) That is what we are working for. And, comrades, do not let your prejudice stand in the way, but stop and think for a moment, and realize that we have now before us a campaign wherein we will reach the ears of thousands and hundreds of thousands of the workers of this country. Let us go before them in this campaign not with silly platitudes and promises that we cannot fulfill, but let us go before them as the revolutionary party that we represent, carrying to them the way out of all of these difficulties into a complete realization of what the right civilization ought to be. It is the system that is wrong, comrades. The Socialist party and all of their program has to do with the changing of the system of governments of the world, and when that is done all these minor ills will naturally settle themselves. (Applause.) While I stand to-day with you here and will try if I can to uphold the will of the majority, yet as a minority vote I do again ask of you men and women to consider well the confusing conditions or the confusing effect that this will have upon the minds of the voters if it is carried here to-day. We must act intelligently and not for the moment, not for the mere getting of a few little demands. No, this party does not stand for that. This party stands for the wiping out forever of this system of accursed wage slavery that is the bottom, the basic principle upon which capitalism rests, and when that is done and capitalism is wiped off the face of the earth, we can then institute a program that will bring not only these blessings, but a million times more, into the homes and lives of our fellow beings. (Applause.)

DEL. COGSWELL (Kan.): Comrades, I feel that at this moment a woman should answer a woman. I stand for the immediate demands, or rather for placing the immediate demands in our program. In the past I have opposed immediate demands because they were only here and there enforced or thought of in many places. Without any direct program the most ridiculous claims were written out for us as workers to take up and advocate and stand for. I opposed in a most bitter way a constitution in a state a short time ago because it went beyond what I thought was fair or was what would be possible to have the people understand or the people stand for. I opposed it not because it was a program, but because it was simply one state. Therefore I advocate most strongly and strenuously that we as members of this National Convention should take some stand that will guide us in the future in out state and municipal work. You go into one state to speak in a campaign for the candidates on your state or municipal ticket, and you find some of the most ridiculous things written out that you have to stand for. (Applause.) I opposed having such a nonsensical lot of stuff everywhere, one conflicting with the other. If we are going to stand together as a well-organized party we want to have the head and strongest part of our party our guide; that is our National Convention. If we have this program it is not mandatory; it is not compelling us to do this or that, but it is a guide, and is a guide from the most intelligent people in our movement. (Applause.) Comrades, we do not need, we women or men either—it is not necessary for us to come before you to-day

and tell you what Socialism is or what Socialism stands for. (Applause.) Certainly not. I give you more credit for intelligence than that I should come here and tell you that we are working in a class struggle, or tell you that we want the co-operative commonwealth. You know it. (Applause.) But is it necessary that we should go without clothes or go in rags until we get the co-operative commonwealth? Is it necessary, because our clothes are old and worn, that we should not patch them if we cannot get a new suit? Comrades, we want the co-operative commonwealth, and you and I know it, but besides that we want some guiding program that will lead the man that does not know what we want to do what we want. (Applause.) If we can clearly say, we as Socialist workers, "no, we do not need a guiding program for ourselves," we are certainly an intelligent enough body of people to understand what we are speaking for, but we do want the average working man or working woman that has no time to go into these things to, in a comprehensive way, be able to sum up some of the things that the Socialists expect to give them in the future and are trying to give them what they can in the present. That is all we ask. We do not call this the real Socialistic object, the real idea of what we are going to have when we have the co-operative commonwealth. This is simply what you might call a propaganda pamphlet, if you will, something to teach the people that we are doing this for the children and that for the women of this nation that are downtrodden and abused for ages; something that will give us some idea of what we want for the working people. It is not something for us that do not need it; it is something for the people that do need it. (Applause.) I heard it said that we were milksops because we had enough to live on. We are not milksops, comrades, we are giving our life and energy and all we possess to help the man that cannot help himself, and to make the women of this nation a credit to this nation. (Applause.) I move that you have this program. It is a grand help to the workers that go out from state to state working in a comprehensive way, instead of in ordinary places here and there meeting the greatest number of absurdities, the most ridiculous things called programs, with the most ridiculous claims and nonsense, instead of standing for something consistent and practicable. We do not advocate state Socialism or municipal Socialism, but we are only pointing to what we can do in all the states—and all the states means the nation. (Applause.)

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and delegates, I had intended to move an amendment to discuss this paragraph by paragraph. The substitute, however, is what we are speaking to, and I will not make that motion. I did not understand just what the Chairman would rule, or whether he would give me another chance at it, so with your kind permission I shall now proceed to sing this. (Laughter). I thought yesterday when I read the platform that we had become a fully American movement because we have got the American dictionary into our platform, all of it. I find to-day we have become American and International, because we have got the International Encyclopedia added to it for our program. (Laughter and applause.) I do not know whether they seriously meant this or not. They come to us and say this is neither mandatory nor obligatory, and they are afraid to add that it is not purgatory. It certainly is going to be pretty tough on the poor fellow, and he will certainly earn his thousand dollars a year if he gets it by learning this game of ping-pong program and immediate demands. (Laughter.) I am going to amend that he be compelled to learn to whistle it and teach it to the rest of us. What does it mean if it is not obligatory or mandatory? What has this convention got to do if it is merely suggestive? We are not a suggestive body. We are here to legislate. We are here to make laws. We are here to lay down the law for the party, so much so that it has been said on the floor here that we are the competent ones to decide everything from International Delegate down to what kind of public houses we shall have in Podunk. It means nothing, according to their statement. Well, if it means nothing, then why do they bring it before this convention? Why, if they consider this wise, why didn't this permanent Municipal Program Committee try it by submitting it to the Socialist press and have it circulated throughout the United States for the next four years for the information of the Socialists? They tell us that it is not a pro-

paganda document. It is a sort of esoteric thing which the thousand-dollars-a-year Secretary is going to deal out to us. I want to discuss one thing here, and as I am not a parliamentarian, I want the Chairman to be a little lenient with me. They tell us in Section D——

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. The question is on the substitute motion of the delegate from Wyoming. He proposes to take up this matter and bring out what he wants. I ask for a decision on the question. I submit to this convention that the question is on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is perfectly proper for members to point out objections. He is speaking against the whole thing. If he has any particular thing it is all right. What I think, above everything else, should be done, is to have the fullest possible discussion of the entire matter on its merits. (Applause.) There are a good many who have changed their minds upon this subject in the last few years in Chicago, and I think there will be many others in the country, and I think we ought to consider at least one section with some attention. I therefore hope the previous question will not be moved until it has been thoroughly thrashed out.

DEL. DALTON: I am going to ask you not to take that off my time. We realize on this side that we are up against it. We realize that this is a municipal program, state program and all the rest of it in the convention, and as far as the majority is concerned, we do not hope to win. We hope, however, to point out how eminently useless this thing is, and if we do take up the time of the convention, remember we do not thrust this on you. None on this side, whatever crimes they have committed, have ever drawn up a blanket like that. But there is one section here, Section D, on the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, providing that the National Committee shall elect a secretary whose compensation shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee. Now we have a National Secretary. That National Secretary has certain specific duties to perform. We have a National Executive Committee and over that stands the National Committee. We have a Lecture Bureau and a Literature Bureau. All of them have certain duties and certain powers as strictly defined as we could define them. Here comes a committee with a salary attached. It is not attached to, it is taken off and given to another committee and a salary attached to the National Secretary and the expenses of this committee. Now I submit in all seriousness, comrades, that if this thing contains anything that is good, if it is not at the same time mandatory, if it is merely suggestive, there is absolutely no reason why the Socialist party should be charged any expenses or any salary. If these men, giving them the credit that I will give an opponent—if they mean that seriously for the Socialist party, why do they not withdraw all these provisions that look like looting the treasury? Why do they not withdraw it and say, "Comrades, we want to make certain suggestions to you and to all members of the Socialist party. We know that there is a difference of opinion. We want to put our ideas in concrete shape, and we want to have access to the Socialist press so as to get access to the Socialist members, and in that way leave the rest of it to the intelligence that we all have, leaving it to the intelligence of the rank and file." Would that not have answered every purpose? and every purpose that would subserve the cause of Socialism? I submit that to your consideration. Another thing: under the heading, "State Program," I find down here that they tell us that under present circumstances the work of the Socialist movement in the state legislature must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from capitalist concessions. That sounds like good sense. They go down further here and say, "They must defend the interest of the working-class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation." It has been again and again affirmed on this floor that every representative not elected by the Socialists and not under the control of our organization must necessarily be the representative of the capitalist class. How in the name of all that is sensible and parliamentary can they possibly wrest anything as Socialist representatives of the working class in parliaments where the class struggle takes on the shape of compromise, necessarily takes on the

shape of concessions? How can they wrest power if you at the same time tell them, "You must not do any log-rolling or any trading with the capitalist members at all?" The thing is absurd on the face of it. You cannot disconnect it. You must consider every part or you must take the position for which we have been censured, the impossiblist position. You must go in there and fight there as Socialists. Then, if you are in the majority you can go in there and take something from them. If you are not in the majority you must seek to make trades with them. And you will come to that. The motion to substitute by the comrade from Montana is to my mind the best measure that can be adopted by this convention, for the reason that if there is anything concrete in this you do not lose it by that. You get the chance to offer these as you say you have been doing for the past year. You get the chance to show to these people who are to be elected some things that they can do, and at the same time you avoid the danger of setting up a sort of cabinet bureau and something to entail expense on the Socialist party. For that reason I claim that the adoption of this thing at this time, as suggested, will suggest only one thing to the rank and file. They will overlook whatever may be good in it. They will simply say, as they would have a perfect right to say—it suggests simply that the immediate programmers wanted to set up a machinery that would entail expense and wanted to give a job to some ping-pong player. I think it is a mistake. (Applause.)

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): A point of information. I would like to know what Comrade Untermann's reasons are, as a German, as a student of International Socialism; I would like to know how he came to go over on the side of the opportunists. Will you allow him to make that statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: I could only do it by unanimous consent of the house.

DELEGATES: Consent.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): No, I will object at this time, as taking up my time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well; proceed.

DEL. PARKS: Comrades, I am no orator. I only talk about things that I know about, and I have no right to go before the American public and talk about things that I do not know about. So, my friends, I simply talk straightforward talk. You all know I am from Kansas. A Kansas poet has said that human hopes and human creeds have their roots in human needs, and I suppose that there is a great human need for this program which has come before us this morning, which some call great and which others do not. Now, my friends, we have unanimously adopted our platform. Some of the committee on the platform openly boast that their immediate demands are concealed under that platform. A comrade came to me off that committee yesterday who was state secretary in the state of Kansas, one of the men who was back of this majority platform in the state of Kansas where I led a fight in our convention to its defeat, and told me it was an absolute victory for this majority platform that was proposed by seven out of eight in the Platform Committee in the Kansas convention. Now, my friends, I want to tell you what is in that majority platform, and if this is a victory for that majority platform in Kansas, I should have voted against the other, the platform that we voted on yesterday. But at the same time I did not vote against that platform because I understood that we were going to have another committee report and I was silent when the vote was taken yesterday. It did not have my approval either one way or the other because I had not had an opportunity to talk upon that platform. Now that majority platform in Kansas stands for the public ownership of monopolies, not interstate in character, including city building sites, telegraphs, telephones and electric railways for cities and states; water, lighting and power plants, with service furnished at cost; public industries, including department stores, lead and zinc mines, and oil, gas and salt wells, their products to be furnished to Kansans at cost. Over here it says: "They can provide for the farmer grain elevators, stock yards, packing houses, telegraphs, freight transportation within the state, and loans of money at cost. They can elect a board of railway commissioners with full power to fix rates. They can unite farm to town by good roads and electric car lines and telephones, provided by the state and furnished at cost. They can enlarge and improve, at state

expense, the work of the Kansas experiment station, and enlist the full power of the state in securing the long desired outlet, by rail or canal, to the Gulf of Mexico," etc. Then following that paragraph comes this paragraph: "The Socialists of Kansas stand for each and all of these beneficent measures, and appeal to the wealth producers of this state to aid them in their attainment." Comrades, I absolutely opposed such a program in the state of Kansas, and I submitted and championed this minority report, which contains the following provision: "The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system of wage slavery is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct; will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it does, the Socialist Party is for it; if it does not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it."

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): A point of order. He is not discussing the question before the house. The platform of Kansas is not up for discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is true, but a man can talk about even the Manifesto.

DEL. PARKS: I will say that we adopted a clear-cut strictly revolutionary platform in Kansas by referendum, and we defeated that kind of a proposition that you have here. I must talk hastily. The Declaration of Independence says that while evils are sufferable people are disposed to bear them rather than rise in rebellion against them. Now in 1848 when the Communist Manifesto was written, the Socialist movement in Europe was a popular middle-class movement, and it was called the Socialist movement for that reason. I will read from page 7 of the introduction by Frederick Engels:

> Yet, when it was written we could not have called it a Socialist Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manner of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle class movement, Communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the continent at least, "respectable;" Communism was the very opposite.

But this Communist Manifesto contains a program in Section II. of it, and the reason I favor this report of the committee this morning is—and I expect to be able to make it plain why it is that Comrade Untermann is in favor of the adoption of this program—is that as to Section II. of this Communist Manifesto Frederick Engels says:

> No special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organization of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then still more in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." Further, it is self-evident that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also that the remarks on the relations of the Communists to the various opposition par-

ties, although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated. But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document, which we have no longer any right to alter.

It contains a whole lot of what we call immediate demands. Now, my friends, I do not favor this program for the reason that it offers a platform. I believe we ought to have a platform of principles, and we ought to have a program, a reasonable appeal to attract attention and bring into our movement men who will become the class-conscious masses of our party. I am in favor of the adoption of this program for propaganda work. I believe our appeal to the people ought to be upon principles, but we need a program. Comrades, I would consider it a misfortune, I would consider it a calamity, if I should be elected to any office by the Socialist Party of America and we had no such program as this to back me up. We do not want to make the program our basis of appeal while we are going out making propaganda speeches. Let us preach the doctrine of the class-struggle, economic determinism and surplus value, and then we can point to our program showing what we may do. Now, I want to read from Labriola, who was the author of the Esasys on the Materialistic Conception of History. In the first essay he comments upon the Communist Manifesto, and this great Italian, who died a few weeks ago, says on page 10 of his book: "We surely would be taking a false road if we regarded as the essential part the measures advised and proposed at the end of the second chapter" (speaking of the Communist Manifesto) "for the contingency of a revolutionary success on the part of the proletariat." That is, if we should take it as the essential thing. Comrades, I believe a platform of principles is the essential thing for the Socialist Party, and then we need such a working program as we have here from this commitee. This necessity is shown again in case of our political relationship to the other revolutionary parties of Germany, Japan and elsewhere. I am going to take up this program and see what we have in it. This program, if you will notice over here, says: "The work of Socialist members of state legislatures and local administrations, under present circumstances, must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit and in the interest of the working class." We stand at all times for the interests of the working class. It says they must defend the interest of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline, in parliamentary work, any trading with capitalists or their representatives for favorable legislation. And then one more sentence and I will be through. All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing on the working class. This will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increasing their intelligence and independence and be considered as so many weapons for the winning of their victory. I hope you will unanimously adopt this program that has been submitted by our committee.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Does the Chair keep a list of the speakers?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, just as they stand up and ask for the floor I mark their names down.

DEL. SLOBODIN: You have not got my name.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you would stand and ask for the floor, I would mark your name down in regular order.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I ask for the floor.

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I ask for the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right. Comrade Carr has the floor.

DEL. DEBS (Ind.): I would like to ask why Comrade Untermann cannot be heard in his own behalf?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Untermann spoke originally in the opening, and he is entitled to the floor only once to speak upon the question unless there is unanimous consent or the rules are suspended, one or the other, and there was an objection because Comrate Parks was entitled to the floor at the time.

DEL. DEBS: It seems to me we could afford to suspend the rules to relieve the comrade of what must be re-

garded as a very unfortunate position. I think Comrade Untermann, if a suspension of the rules is necessary, ought to be heard in his own behalf.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is a motion to suspend the rules, I will entertain it, or if it is the unanimous consent of the house.

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to Comrade Untermann answering the question which was asked him as to what caused his change from the revolutionary European position to that of favoring a program?

DELEGATES: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please state your question.

DELEGATE BERTHA WILKINS: I would like to ask Delegate Untermann, in view of the Dresden Conference, after that struggle with the opportunists, how do you stand for this platform, with its opportunism?

DEL. UNTERMANN: I can only answer that I have not changed my position. My position has been before the Socialist Party of the United States since I have been a member of it, and that is since the Indianapolis convention; and ever since that time, in print and speech, I have declared for a strictly scientific declaration of principles as our campaign platform, and the separation of a working program from that platform, and in so doing I have in no way abandoned the revolutionary standpoint of the Socialist parties of the world. (Applause.) This same question has agitated all the Socialist parties from the very beginning. In 1869, when Comrades August Bebel and William Liebknecht were first elected to the Bundesrath of the North German Alliance, that question was urged for the first time, and Comrade Liebknecht's idea fully coincided with the idea of our present impossibilist friends. He said: "I will tell you what we will do. We will walk into the North German Bund and protest and walk out again." But Bebel said: "No, hold on a minute. I am going to walk in, and I am going to stay there, and I am going to fight the capitalists in there, if I am the only Socialist member in parliament." (Applause.) In 1875 it became an absolute necessity for all the Socialist elements in Germany to unite, because it was now a question of either assisting the bourgeoisie or being absolutely overridden by the government. As you know, the labor movement proper in Germany had been created by Lassalle and propagated by the Lassalleans; and their standpoint was that now held by the American capitalists who believe in state capitalism. But when the Lassalleans recognized that even their life depended on uniting with the Marxian wing, it was Toelke, I believe, wasn't it——

DEL. JONAS: Yes, it was Toelke.

DEL. UNTERMANN: —who came and said, "We must get together." And Liebknecht said, "All right, we must get together and unite on a common platform," and a common platform was written. And who edited it? The same comrade who several years prior to this had adopted that impossible position, but had been converted to the other position by practical experience in parliament—William Liebknecht. Again, a few years after, in 1878, when the Socialist Party of Germany was threatened with absolute destruction by the passage of the anti-Socialist laws, they reaffirmed the platform in principle, and Karl Marx was very wrathy at the position they had taken because he had not arrived at the same standpoint that Liebknecht had in 1869, and he wrote a very wrathy letter to Liebknecht, to which Liebknecht replied, "My dear Marx, you are living in England, and you do not know what is good for Germany. We are making this fight here, and with all due deference to your judgment, we are going to keep to our position." So the Socialist Party of Germany continued to retain the immediate demands in the platform, a thing for which I do not stand in the United States, because, as the Communist Manifesto plainly says, the application of these measures depends entirely on the economic and political situation of each country. The platform which we have adopted contains immediate demands, but they are embodied in that platform in such a form that they are acceptable to me, because in order to find them you have got to look for them with a microscope. Even our impossibilist friends did not know that they were in there until I called their attention to it, and if THEY cannot see them I would like to know how the man on the street will see them. (Applause.) Our im-

mediate-demand friends think they stole a march on us, because we forced them to put the immediate demands into the body of the platform, and I am glad, and they are glad, and we are all satisfied, and everything is lovely and the goose hangs high. (Applause.) Now, you might just as well say that Marx changed his revolutionary position based on the Communist Manifesto in which he had embodied a long string of immediate demands, by writing that Brunswick letter. But he did not abandon any revolutionary principle in changing his opinion in this matter of tactics. Moreover, he again changed his mind on this point, for in the eighties of the last century, when the Parti Ouvrier Francais wanted a scientific platform, Guesde and Lafargue got together and invited Karl Marx to write a platform for the party. Marx did so, and if you will kindly look at that platform you will see that it has a beautiful long tail of immediate demands, worked out by Karl Marx himself. Yet nobody accused him of being any the less revolutionary for it. On the contrary, in consequence of that long program for present-day action, the Parti Ouvrier Francais was enabled to push the class struggle vigorously in the French municipalities, even more so than the opportunist Millerandists who had used the immediate demands for political trading rather than for a class struggle activity. The Millerandists did not pay as much attention to the Social Revolution in the municipalities as the Guesdists did, and so the latter did much more effective work for Socialism than the former. I, therefore, say that I have in no way abandoned the standpoint which I have held before and since I went into this party. If you will please look at a little pamphlet that I wrote about the municipalities, and look at an article that I wrote in the International Socialist Review about a political program, you will see that I absolutely have been true to the position I have there taken. I do not think that in the United States there will ever be any necessity for my changing that position, but I realize that if we could have the revolution to-morrow we might as well have it to-day. No, but you can fight for the revolution in parliament; you can fight the capitalist class in parliament, and every little suggestion followed out there will be a means of fighting for the revolution in parliament. I absolutely deny the correctness of the position taken by Comrade Dalton that it will not be possible to wrest something from the capitalist class. With the immense trade union movement in the United States ready to be crushed under the iron heel of military despotism; with the Parryites and the Citizens' Alliances organized all over this country to crush unionism, there will soon be a demand even by the pure and simple trade unionists for political representatives—the weapon, and the only weapon, by which labor can be emancipated. They will come into the Socialist Party then, and we shall send men into parliament. And the economic situation outside will be an argument that will back us up and force the capitalists to grant these demands that we shall make on them. Just as the Guesdists in France, who, taking advantage of the French economic situation, have been able to better the condition of the working class of the great cities, so to a much greater extent shall we in the United States be able to help the working class by fighting the revolution in all the administrations of this country. In closing, I again reiterate that I have not changed my position; that I have been faithful to that position and faithful to the comrades who have believed in me, because I took that position, and I can assure you that they shall never regret that they have trusted me. (Applause.)

DEL. CARR (Ill.): The adoption of the platform yesterday came to me as an inspiration. I believe the document will become sacred in the years to come. I believe that the Socialist movement will date a new impulse from the adoption of that platform. I feel with reference to this program very much the same way, for the very reason that from the first I objected to it when it was presented to me, and made some remarks in harmony with the remarks of Comrade Dalton, that it was a blanket, and too big, and all that sort of thing; but the very comprehensiveness of this program is after all its great feature. An objection is made that the motion to substitute includes in it the expression "in favor of everything that favors the working class and against everything that opposes it." It seems to me that Comrade Walsh should withdraw that motion to substitute, and should favor this program on that prop-

osition. It is so comprehensive and it covers the ground so thoroughly that it is hardly likely that questions can arise in the municipalities or states that cannot at least be illuminated by the program proposed. (Applause.) And for that reason, and also because I am in favor of the general proposition of your program, I am very urgently in favor of the adoption of this program substantially as it has been presented. But it does seem to me that the adoption of this program as an official utterance of this convention, even though it be urged only as suggestions, is sufficient at this time without the formation of a bureau and the election of a secretary to have in charge something which is in itself but suggestive and advisory. (Applause.) It does seem to me that the national office and the state offices and the local party, guided by the suggestions in this program and aided by the advice of genuine Socialist lawyers that are becoming numerous in the Socialist Party, will be quite sufficient to meet all the necessities of the case without the addition of this expense to our work. (Applause.) The general objection is made to the program by those who have opposed it—though I am happy to say that the opposition is not in the same spirit that it was before—that they believe in Socialism and not in these immediate demands. That reminds me of a shipwrecked crew on a storm-tossed sea in a life boat, the crew divided into two factions; one faction says, "I want to get to shore, and I do not believe in anything else but getting to shore." The other faction says, "We are just as anxious to get to shore as you are, but in order to get to shore we have got to bail the boat, we have got to work and we have got to use every practical means possible to get to shore." (Applause.) It has been stated on this floor by one opposed to the adoption of this program that this program would be by her favorably considered if we were about to elect a President of the United States, senate, congress, and all that sort of thing. Gentlemen, I submit that this program would be very insignificant and insufficient in such a situation as that. (Applause.) We would be at shore then, on the point of landing. We would not need buckets to bail with nor oars to row with. The conditions that would prevail if we were on the point of carrying this country by a great victory would be very different, and the practical appliances would not be the same. I want to make the point a little clearer if possible that the only difference between us is as to the method by which we will get to shore. On that point I appeal to the record of the Socialist Party in France, Germany and elsewhere. I presume all of you are acquainted with the development of Socialism in the French and German cities where the comrades have obtained local control. They have been just as firm and clear as we have in the declaration of Socialist principles, but they have realized that when they were elected, they had certain demands that they must meet; demands made by the people that they must meet; and they started out to meet them. They have revolutionized the public schools in their respective cities. They have revolutionized public transportation and other things in their respective cities, and they have shown so practically to the masses of those respective cities, who see the workings under the Socialist government and the good of a Socialist administration even in the midst of the capitalist system, that it is almost impossible to dislodge these Socialist municipal governments after they have once been established. (Applause.) Capitalism seems to have no chance to regain its lost power under circumstances like those.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I would like to ask a question. Will you move to strike out that bureau?

DEL. CARR: Excuse me, I want to use my time just now for another purpose. I am told that my time is almost up. As I said in the first place, I cannot feel in a very combative mood when there is such a spirit manifested in this, and I insist, with great seriousness, on the adoption of this report substantially as it has been submitted.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): Comrades, Mississippi will not detain you very long; but I am in favor of this program, whether that be opportunist or whatever it may be, I am in favor of the program as submitted by your committee. Why? On your streets only last night I heard the arguments of various Socialists in combat with citizens of your city and I frequently heard it said, "Aha, they don't agree on what they want themselves;" and in lecturing I

have had the question asked, "What are you going to do to replace the conditions that we have?" Some of our speakers have said that if we have not got men with sense enough to know what to do when they are elected, don't nominate them." That is all very well, but when you answer the question and then someone else asks you if that is the party position and you say, "No, this is only my personal position," your position falls to the ground. And so we in the state of Mississippi ask for a guide something like this, so that we can show that all Socialists have some semblance of harmony on these questions of local issues. We have been told that this is patch work. The patch work that I take it for is something like a boat I knew that was rebuilt on the Mississippi. There was a good old gentleman there, a wealthy lumber dealer, who had his own ships and schooners, and one time had a boat that he called the Katy Maria, and the old thing was so rotten it was in danger of sinking, and the crew refused to sail on it any longer. So he thought he would have to do a little patch work on the schooner, and he had it hauled up on the shipyard to be patched, and they patched it. The ship builders went to work and took off the decks, took off the siding, took out the rudder, and they kept on taking the pieces off piece meal. Once in a while Mr. Leonard, the owner, came around to see how the patch work was geting along, and finally he left it in the hands of the shipbuilders, and when they got through with it the only old thing about the schooner was its name, Katy Maria. (Applause.) The men who were rebuilding his Katy Maria knew the dangers in going to sea with a patch-work boat, and they made it safe, but they did it in a way that Mr. Leonard was not onto. And so I believe that the Socialists of to-day will rebuild the old ship of state, and when it comes out of the political dry dock, it will be new, and there will not even be the old name to it. Now, in Mississippi—I don't know how it is with the rest of you—the situation is something like this: we have no guide to go by where I live. We have summer bath houses, and have small rails extending out into the water where people can go during the summer months. Those are very narrow paths, and some have railings and some have not, and on very dark nights people sometimes walk out upon the wharves, and where there are no railings they occasionally fall overboard and take the bath before they are prepared for it. Where there are guides or railings on the sides, they are always perfectly safe. Now, if I go before the comrades of Mississippi—not the Socialist comrades, but the comrades that we want to make Socialists of—and when they ask me our position on local questions and ask if that is the position of the party on some question, I can say it was the position recommended by the national convention assembled in Chicago, and then I have got something permanent and solid to stand on. It is not my personal opinion at all. (Applause.) I believe the best possible literature that we can circulate in Mississippi—I don't know how it is in these other cities of the north—is this paper that we are discussing right now. Some say that we don't want our comrades elected to offices, for instance, because they would have to trade. I do not believe they would have to trade. But let us follow that to the logical conclusion. If we follow it out to the logical conclusion, we won't elect anybody. What kind of a party are we to go before the people and say, "Here we are, but we don't want your votes, because if we elect men and put them in the legislative bodies they will be utterly unable to do a thing." (Applause.) "We don't want them to do a thing." If we talked to the people in Mississippi like that, saying that our men are unable to do anything when elected, do you think we are going to get them to help us elect them? I believe that our comrades can do something; not a great deal, it is true, but they can do something with this guide to help them. And so whether you call me an opportunist or what not. I am a Socialist to the backbone, but I am in favor of this paper. (Applause.)

Delegate Toole of Maryland moved the previous question. Seconded.

Delegate Mills of Kansas took the floor.

DEL. HERRON (N. Y.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): Are you going according to the list?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Here the Chairman stated that at the noon adjournment an opportunity would

be given all delegates who were not in the first photograph taken of the members of the convention, to have their pictures taken and added to the main photograph.

THE CHAIRMAN: I now understand that Delegate Herron has a question of personal privilege. I think it is that we suspend the rules and ask the committee to present the candidate for President to the convention.

DEL. HERRON: Yes.

Comrade Debs, the nominee for President, was then escorted to the platform by the Committee of Notification.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, it is my pleasure to present to you the Ferdinand Lasalle of the twentieth century.

Debs' Speech of Acceptance.

Comrade Debs was greeted with prolonged applause, and after it had subsided sufficiently for him to be heard he addressed the convention as follows:

In the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. (Applause.) Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—for in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement—— (Applause.) I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft in the coming contest the banner of the working class (applause); that by my utterances and by my acts, not as an individual, but as your representative, I may prove myself worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thralldom of the ages. (Applause.)

It is my honor to stand in the presence of a historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here to-day (applause); I would that Lassalle and Engels, the men who long before the movement had its present standing wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion. We are on the eve of battle to-day. We are ready for the contest. (Applause.) We are eager for the fray. (Applause.) We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge the approval of the working class of the world. (Applause.) The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of International Socialism. (Applause.) Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention, standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor who stands for the perpetuation of the system that keeps in chains the workers in whose name we meet to-day. (Applause.)

There is a Republican party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the party that has its representative in the White House; the party that rules in both branches of Congress; the party that controls the Supreme Court; the party that commands the press; the party that gives inspiration to the sub sidized pulpit; the party that guides every force of government; the party that is in absolute power in every department of our public affairs. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the Congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to uncover the sources from which corruption flows like lava streams down mountain sides; that they adjourned long before the regular hour in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

There is a Democratic party (a voice, "Where?"); a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an expiring party that totters upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past

(applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot be heard in their own defense. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a latter-day Republican convention. (Applause.) If they were living to-day they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

The Socialist Party meets these two capitalist parties face to face, without apology, scorning to compromise; it throws down the gage of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

You have honored me, in the magnitude of the task you have imposed upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. (Applause.) Responsive to your command I am here, to serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. (Applause.) I shall take advantage of every opportunity to proclaim the emancipating mission of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign (applause), as often, as decidedly, as emphatically, as revolutionarily (applause), and as uncompromisingly (applause) as my ability, my strength and my fealty to the party will allow.

I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class (applause)—no power that does not spring spontaneous from the oppression and exploitation of the workers of the world.

Above all things I realize that for the first time in the history of the ages there is a working-class movement ("Hear, hear," and applause)—perfectly free from the patronizing cant of those who riot in the misery of the class who make up that movement.

On this occasion, above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all the ages has been oppressed, crushed, robbed and debased, for the one reason that it has lacked the consciousness of its overmastering power that shall finally give it supreme control and make it the sovereign ruler of the world. (Applause.) This class is just beginning to awaken from the torpor of the centuries (applause). The most hopeful sign of the time is that from the dull, dim eye of the proletaire there shoots forth the first gleam of intelligence, the first signal that he is waking up, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when through the vitalizing influence of the Socialist movement he shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring emancipation to his class and to all humanity. (Great applause.)

To consecrate myself to my part in this great work is my supreme ambition. (Applause.) I can only hope to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He is not remembered because he was a candidate for President; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself a worthy member of the Socialist Party (applause); he proved his right to a place in the International Socialist movement. (Applause.) If when the service to which you have called me shall have been completed this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been far better made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, and so I close, with the wish and the hope and the ambition that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed, so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been worthily made, and that your judgment may then be vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you and each of you, and through you those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often. And when we meet finally we shall meet as a victorious host to ratify the triumph of the Socialist Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Prolonged cheers and applause fol-

lowed the address of Comrade Debs, terminating with three rousing cheers and a tiger. When a semblance of order was finally restored the Chair said:

Comrades, the hour of adjournment has passed and we will adjourn until half-past one—but wait one moment. I wish to repeat the request that was made by the photographer, that those who were not included in the photograph will step back a moment and step to the back of the hall.

DEL. Mills (Kas.): I wish to make a suggestion which I think we will unanimously agree to, and that is that upon beginning the discussion after adjournment the three-minute rule be adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Make it five.

DEL. Mills: All right. I move we suspend the rules and adopt the five-minute rule on speeches after the adjournment.

Delegate: I move to amend by making it three-minute speeches.

DEL. Mills: I accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention stands adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Chairman called the convention to order at 1:30 P. M.

Consideration of the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program was resumed.

DEL. MILLER (Col.) moved that speakers be limited to three minutes. The motion was seconded by Delegate Mills (Kan.)

It was moved to amend by permitting members of the committee to have ten minutes. Seconded.

The previous question being ordered, the motion as amended was carried.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): It was not my desire to take up much time in this debate at the start, because I thought these resolutions or this program was so much within the limit of common sense that it would not be necessary for any debate, and in taking the floor at this time I only wish to set forth the opinion of the members in Minnesota. I know that in Minnesota 98 out of every 100—aye, more than that—will be in favor of this proposition. To vote down this proposition is simply to turn the Socialist ship loose without any chart, without any rudder, to let us act without any system. We must have something else besides a compass; we must have a chart to steer by; we must know our course if we do not want to go to pieces on the rocks. Now, the program that is presented here is not mandatory; it simply gives us a certain guide so that the people in the United States, and especially in the West, will have some idea of what we want and how to get at it and how to do it. People who talk the most about Karl Marx and revolutionary Socialism and all that thing are sometimes the most ignorant Socialists we have in the movement. (Cries of "No, no.") I prefer to stand by the advice of such men as Liebknecht and Bebel rather than by that of comrades who have only been in the movement a short time. I believe in going for those things that are a possibility, but doing it on our own initiative and on our own platform, without any concessions to the other parties or wish any of their help. I believe also in the advice of Liebknecht, that whenever you can seize anything that is for the interest of the laboring class, we should seize it and take it without compromise. (Applause.)

Delegate Bosky (Minn.) asked to have his name placed on the speakers' list.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I fully sympathize with the desire for an emphatic, clear declaration of principles, but I am satisfied that some of the comrades are mistaken in their view of the value of this program. We have had some experience in Texas with the confusion that arises from the want of an expression on the part of our party as to just what measures in a municipal way are advisable for the Socialist movement. Last spring I was in a campaign there, and it devolved upon me and a few other comrades to prepare a platform, so I went to a scrapbook that I keep and extracted some of the platforms that I had been collecting from various newspapers that had published the platforms adopted in cities in different parts of the country. I want to say that there were no two of them alike; and some of them were so contradictory that I wondered that any one would put them forth and expect to be credited with good sense. Now, I want to say that the conditions [illegible] the ortho-

dox religious world are a fair sample of what arises from a want of authority in interpretation. There are over a thousand creeds, I believe, and one of the charges brought against the Catholic church has been that it would not allow the people to interpret the Bible to suit themselves. Now, I am not endorsing the religion of the Catholic church, but it is true that where each man claims the right to interpret the Bible to suit himself, confusion is the result. I make no comparison between Socialism and such questions as orthodoxy, but I say this, that if a man is allowed to place any construction that he sees fit on Socialism, we can understand just exactly what the result will be. There is nothing binding in this program, and I think the comrades are simply mistaken as to its purpose and effect. I know there are some men who think it their duty to express their superheated class-consciousness by always insisting on nothing but the very essence of International Socialism in every utterance, though I am not prepared to say that the comrades here today are of that stripe. Now, I only object to that part of the report that would tend to bind the party to a definite program, and dare say there is a marked tendency on the part of Socialists to refuse their own medicine. We are very loud in our declarations about economic determinism, and point out how it operates in the world at large, but when it comes to our own affairs we do not want to take our own medicine. Here is a case of economic determinism staring us in the face, running right into our arms: a proposition to establish a salaried office with $1,000 expenses attached to it. Now, I should waive that. That is the only part that I seriously object to. There are some minor details that are inconsequential and can be settled when the time comes. I want to emphasize one fact——

THE CHAIRMAN: Time. If the comrade had listened to the report he would have noticed that there was not one word about the salary to be given to the Secretary. The report provided for a committee with a secretary. He was to be elected by the Committee on Municipal Program, with the consent of the Executive Committee, and they were to fix the compensation.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I am in favor of the substitute offered by Comrade Walsh of Montana, for the reason that at present the Socialist movement is rather educational than anything else, and for the further reason that you have there a program long enough to satisfy the possible, not to say probable requirements of the party for the next 15 or 20 years. We have every populist plank that it is possible to incorporate into one, and for the reason that that is so it seems to me that the proper thing to do is to make a short, concise and definite declaration upon the policy of the members elected upon that vote-catching platform. There is nothing in the composition and construction of Comrade Walsh's amendment to which even Comrade Spargo would take exception, as far as its English is concerned, I believe. It is easily comprehensible, and everyone to whom it comes should understand definitely the position of the Socialist party, and this is one thing that will be hard for him to learn from any other declaration of this convention. In the last analysis, anyway, the best that can be said is that the test for our position upon any legislation is, whether or not it is in the interest of the working class. If we pledge ourselves to that position and are true to it, we may rest assured that any power once conferred by the working class on our candidates shall be again and again reposed in them so long as they are true to that cardinal principle. Of course I know that what I say, like what Comrade Gibbs and a few others have said, will have no weight because we belong to that fraction of the working class known as the intellectual proletarians, or the proletarian intellectuals. We have both here, and even a taint of that is of course out of place here. The intellectual has no place in the Socialist movement until after he is dead. Then he is used here as authority for every statement. (Applause.)

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): In the first place, let us understand this: there are 546 cities in the United States with over 8,000 inhabitants. You may nominate your candidates for President and Vice-President this year, but you will not elect them. You know that in the next year or two you will not only elect one, but hundreds of aldermen, and a great number of representatives to go to the legislatures of the different states. You must have some definite

method of instructing them, or at least of pointing out what should characterize their action in a legislative body. It is argued by some who seem to be proud that they are not intellectuals—in other words, proud of their own ignorance (applause), proud because they know little—that the ideal test of a proposition should be whether it is in favor of the working class, and if so, we are in favor of it. Let me tell you that every democratic politician of whom the Socialists might ask, "what will you do?" will answer, "anything the working class wants." Ask Bath House John and every corrupt politician, and they will say, "I am for the working class, and I will do everything they want." Ask a politician in the Impossible camp, and you get exactly the same reply, "I will vote for the interest of my class." When you ask, "What do you propose to do?" then he will be unable to tell. Let us remember a few things; that this movement at the present time is a municipal movement; it will grow and develop within the states, and you will take possession of them long before you do of the national government. The municipalities are the natural homes of the proletariat. It will first assert its strength there. You will first be obliged to assume a constructive course and constructive propaganda there. We are going to have new conditions. The condition that has characterized our movement heretofore has been analytical and condemnatory of the capitalist system. We are going to have responsibility thrust upon our shoulders, on the shoulders of every member of our party. As Socialist officers increase in number, just to that extent must we assume a constructive course in introducing within the present system all that we can that will enable the proletarians to raise their standard of living and contribute to their well-being. There are inquiries coming in from members of the party asking that we endorse this proposition and endorse that proposition. To whom should these go? To the National Secretary, when the National Secretary has a great amount of work upon his hands? Of course, until after the national machinery is running that might be done, but not otherwise. After the work is organized it should go to a committee who will have it in charge and who should devote their attention to it. The Indianapolis convention created such a committee, and you have that committee's report to begin with, and you know the character of the committee and the research shown by their report. You should have some kind of special work for the different committees. The most of them cannot run the whole movement, but they may become quite perfect in a particular department.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): All I want to say is that I want to ask Comrade Walsh to take the substitute that he introduced and put it into the constitution. I think that is the proper place for it, but not on the program. The next point, as Comrade Stedman pointed out, there is no compulsion attached to the program that has been made out; it is a general recommendation of the committee. The next one: I want to say this, that in all the experience of the Socialist party, wherever they have attempted any legislation, that is whenever it was forced upon them where the growth of the movement has made it absolutely necessary that they take the reins of government in municipalities, they have been confronted with that one obstacle, that neither the party, state, national nor local, has had any provision made for such occasions as that. We have got in Alabama two aldermen, both of them Socialists, but there is no program, and it was impossible for the local there to provide suggestions as to what is necessary to do for them to work under. We are not academicians; most of us are working men. Now, wherever there has been an organized movement of the Socialist party that has taken hold of the powers of the municipal government, they have a program mapped out by which each and everyone of the officials can show that their action was based on a certain line of municipal action, and the result has proved so satisfactory that they were never called back; they have remained in office. The water works of Berlin are one instance, the city railways of Berlin another. In the legislatures of several of the middle states of Germany there are men that have been elected and re-elected; and why? Because they were standing on a certain defined platform or routine of work that was mapped out by the party for these officials to follow and carry out. And if they could not carry them out it called the attention of the whole public, of all the people, to certain objec-

tions in carrying on the work and propaganda of the party, which is far more important and has done more good than all other propaganda combined. It was a practical illustration of the Socialist in office and that is what we need, and what we need is a guide by which each man can do his work. The street railways in several cities are ready almost to be brought under direct control of the municipalities. Waterworks the same; some of them have them. Now, if you do not define the conduct which will govern any Socialist officials elected to such positions in such departments, then you will not show to the public what the man has to do. Just like the previous speaker said, the democratic and republican ward heelers will give the same answer to the voter as the Socialist will. But we might give him a platform and refer him to certain objects in view that are set out by the party, and then it is a different proposition. Therefore, I hope you will adopt the majority program report.

DEL. HAZLETT (Col.): May I have the consent of the convention to speak after the other Colorado delegates have spoken?

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade wishes to know whether she can have consent to speak after the other Colorado delegates have spoken.

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection it will be permitted. No objection.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrades, I would like to give you a slight history of the origin of the wording of this amendment. The only portion of the Seattle platform, which has now been adopted by five states, and I am responsible for, is that section which is included in this amendment: "The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere," and so on; you are familiar with it; it is in this amendment. Two years ago in our municipal election, this platform was drawn, and the wording of that particular section was due to me; nothing else in it. You have it in your Chicago platform, I believe, the municipal platform. Now, in addition to the statement that when we are in office we will try every question with respect to the interest of the working class, I had added what is necessary to go with it, a statement of the things that we would do under the particular local conditions where we are asking for the suffrages of the citizens. (Applause.) Comrade Ault of Idaho reminds me of this fact also—I had forgotten it: our comrades in the convention, in spite of my advocacy of this what you might call immediate-demand idea, cut that off and put the platform before the public there in its beheaded condition. (Applause.) That is, the head is there, but the limbs are gone. We say we will do these things, but we do not tell what we will do. Now the judgment of a party is better than the judgment of any one or two men. (Applause.) I do not believe in any procrustean law by which a party will say how you should do these things when you get into power, but I do believe in our suggesting and intimating, under special conditions and environments, what the men who go into office to represent the party should do. This you can have. There is every reason to believe we have it here. I want to say that this is not a platform; it is not even a suggestion of a platform. We have got the platform by itself. The platform says exactly what is in this long list; in substance, that we will do certain things in the interest of the working class if we have the chance. Now, then, is there anything impracticable about that? Is there anything about that that is non-revolutionary? As I came up to the room I heard a comrade ridiculing this platform and ridiculing these demands. These are not demands except when we shall try to do something; they are a mere suggestion of the line in which we will act. It is absolutely rational; and it would be irrational to leave the old demand or statement that we will do whatever we can, and then not say what we will do under specific conditions. Those are the things, I believe, that make it reasonable to adopt this platform. The constant mistake is made, however, of talking about those immediate demands as things that we are going before the people to advocate. No, we are going before the people on the platform that we adopted yesterday. (Applause.) We will not talk about these things at all. If a man is elected to a legislative assembly in any state or to the council in a city, those are things which he will

try to do while we are a minority. When we become a majority we will fulfill the promises of the platform. (Applause.) We will overwhelm the capitalist system and abolish wages.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am going to say that I am in favor of adopting these suggestions because they are only suggestions. But there has been so much error in those who oppose a portion of this, so much that is irrelevant, that after all we are quarreling about nothing. Those people take the position that we are going to overturn the capitalist system and build a new system brand new. Now, those are what they call revolutionists who do not know a thing about what a revolution is. (Applause.) The Socialist revolution proper is the seizing of power by the working class so that they can take the things that are already constructed and use them in their own interests; and we are going to construct some of the things that we are going to be the masters of. That is what this proposition proposes; it is simply a suggestion; we may reject them. What does it amount to? We make these suggestions, and if you are going to adopt them in any city and in every state of the United States, and we were to elect Debs and Hanford, we would not use one of them. (Applause.) There is nothing to that in that regard. The delegate from Oregon said these things would be good after we got into power. After we get into power we are going to do something else entirely. (Applause.) That is the history of revolution. Let them read the demands of the Third Estate in France when it got power. Look at the American revolution, how it started. The demand was for certain legislation, that they might fish better. Before they got through they said to King George, "Get out." It was another proposition entirely. (Applause.) And that is the law that governs revolutions. The people who talk so glibly about being revolutionists, let them first understand what they mean by revolution. (Applause.) It is the change of power for which we are trying to organize the working class so as to obtain power in order to administer the things that are, and not the things that might be constructed. That is what we are fighting for. We are fighting for the world. The world is at stake, and between us and the capitalist class there is a battle. Don't get off of your balance on this phraseology. The Chicago platform is referred to. If you people knew the nature of that Chicago platform you would talk differently. That Chicago platform was adopted in a committee on platform of which I was a member. I edited a portion of it, and it said, "We will do everything for the working class as a whole, if the opportunity offers." Everything for the working class as a whole. But I followed it with this paragraph: "And any portion of the working class, if opportunity offers." (A delegate: "That was stricken off.") Right you are; that was stricken off. You cannot understand a thing unless you know how it was born. They did not want to do anything for any portion of the working class. (Applause.)

DEL. WORK (Iowa): It has frequently been said that the purpose of the republican platform and the democratic platform is to get in on, but not to stand on after you get in. The purpose of this program is not to get in on, but to stand upon after you do get in. It is not a platform. Its purpose is to act as a guide to the legislators and aldermen and mayors who may be elected by the Socialist party. The opponents to this program are placed in an inconsistent position, because, as has already been pointed out, they or we by the aid of their votes have already adopted a national program. It is true that it is in the platform and not in a separate document, where it ought to be. But, nevertheless, it is in the national program, and you will find it in the last paragraph on the third page of the platform adopted yesterday, where we declare for old age insurance, the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, for the equal suffrage of men and women, for preventing the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes, for the free administration of justice, for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation and the recall of officers by their constituents, etc. That is a national program, and yet we have not elected a single United States senator or representative in the lower House of Congress. And if you are willing to have a national program under those circumstances, why are you not willing to have a state and municipal program

when we have already begun to elect state and municipal officers. (Applause.) We have already elected a hundred or two of aldermen and mayors and other city officials, and at the November election it is as certain as anything can be in this world that we will elect several dozen state legislators, and at the next municipal election next spring we will elect several hundred more of municipal officials, so that the time is ripe for a municipal program. We have here to-day Jacob Hunger and Frederick Heath as representatives from Wisconsin and the rest of the Milwaukee aldermen, asking this convention to give them the benefit of its collective wisdom on this subject. (Applause.)

DEL. UFERT (N. J.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades, I am in favor of the adoption of this program, because when we adopt this program we are not adopting a platform of the Socialist party. It merely gives our representatives whom we may elect a guide when they are chosen to office, and then we will not have occurrences of the kind which some of our papers have been criticising, such as the cement sidewalk platform and platforms of that kind. When we do lay down a guide of this kind there will be no cause for the occurrence of such platforms in the Socialist movement. The question hinges on this: Whether, by the adoption of this program, we take from the Socialist party its revolutionary spirit. I do not believe we do. Last April in Milwaukee the Social Democratic party elected nine aldermen, and they had an immediate-demand program attached to their platform. In Chicago we have what is known as one of the most revolutionary locals in the United States, so-called, but the Chicago Local or Chicago Socialist movement has not yet caused as much of a revolution as the Milwaukee movement (applause), by seizing from the capitalist class the control of the powers of government. That is what we are after, friends, and that is what we are going to get by going at it in a sane and rational way. That is the only question between the Socialist and the opposition parties. The battle is for the control of the powers of government. In places such as Milwaukee and others, where we have gotten control of the powers of government, we find they have accomplished something in the revolutionary line. You go to the capitalist class in Milwaukee, and you go to the capitalist class in Chicago, and ask them which is the more revolutionary movement? You can rest assured that the capitalist class in Milwaukee has far more respect for the Socialist movement in that city than has the capitalist class for the movement in Chicago. We must stop talking revolution and revolutionize things. We are the most revolutionary party, I say, in this country. (Applause.)

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A point of order. I believe it has been the rule this afternoon for the comrades to alternate in talking on this question. I believe this is the fifth man who has opposed the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. CARR: The rules provide that.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the rules provide that when the previous question is moved you alternate, not before.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): This program is an attempt to give a local interpretation to the philosophy of Marx in the language of the working class. It is a practical demonstration of the fact that we know what the interest of the workers is. Before we have a right to be entrusted with the work of legislation we should be prepared to tell what we would do in a municipality. At a time when a strike against an employer becomes an insurrection against the state, it is proper for the workers to give a practical interpretation to the class struggle, and to say that the federal troops shall be prohibited from interfering in the disputes between capital and labor. (Applause.) That is the way we understand the class struggle. This simply shows that the Socialists have arisen high enough for a view of the entire field of political activity, and are able to direct the Socialist movement, the Socialist party, in every part of that field. We have passed the critical stage; we have passed the academic stage. This thing is getting out of the chairs of editors and economists and political philosophers, down into the hearts and minds of the working class. We have a right to appeal to the support of the workers when we show by our practical declarations upon the questions that confront them that we know just where their interests lie and are

prepared to take our place right by their side and direct their affairs on every part of the field. And until we are able to make this concrete expression we are merely an academic party.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I rise to a point of order. That the Chair is proceeding contrary to our wishes in keeping a list. I make this point of order in order to expedite the business.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right. Comrade Floaten has the floor.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): The Colorado delegation has been very modest during this convention, and I trust you will pardon us if two of us speak, one after the other, on this question. There was a time when I thought very little about a working program. In fact I did not know whether it was necessary or not. From the discussions here today and the difference of opinion of the delegates to this convention I am very well satisfied that the party should express itself positively one way or the other. It does not matter what that expression is, but we must have an expression of the party. We are here today and the difference of opinion of the the concrete expression of the Socialist party as near as possible without a referendum vote. We get the crystallized opinion of the party throughout the states, because most of the organized states are fairly well represented. Now, the point is not what we will do after we gain control of the nation as Socialists, but while we are a minority party in the nation or in the state, we may be a majority party in a community or a municipality, and that is what this program is for. It is to tell us so that we may act with uniformity on all classes of questions that may come up which are of interest to the working class. One of the great objections that we have had in Colorado in canvassing for Comrade Miller here for the legislature, was "What do you intend to do? On what side of the question will you vote in the legislature?" Suppose he is without a guide, he can simply say, as has been expressed here, "I will take that side which is in the interest of the working class." Now, the Socialist party is divided as to what is the best interest of the working man. Some Socialists, and good ones at that, will say that the best thing is to grant franchises to corporations and let the working class be ground down till they see the necessity of voting the Socialist ticket. Others say on the eight-hour question that the best thing to do is not to give them an eight-hour law, but allow them to work twelve or fourteen hours until they can see the necessity of coming into the Socialist party. There are good Socialists that hold those opinions. On the other side there are Socialists who say that if there is a measure which would be of benefit to the working class it ought to be supported by the Socialists. What we want is an expression of the Socialist party as to what will be of the greatest benefit to the working class.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I come from a state which a few years ago turned a capitalistic Republican majority of 80,000 into a majority for a former minority party that took control of all portions of the government in that state. These people were engaged in the discussion of national issues, largely to the exclusion of state issues. They had talked about 16 to 1, national ownership of railroads and these other little party issues, and what do we find to-day in that state? Now, I clearly foresee that if the Socialist movement continues along the lines laid down by some of our friends we are liable to make exactly the same mistake. I can clearly foresee that in comparatively a few years, if the Socialist movement continues to develop as it is now developing, we will carry some states. It seems to me a very rational proposition that in a few years we shall carry the state of Kansas. Now, the question to my mind is just this: When we are in power in the state of Kansas and have control of both branches of the legislature and of the executive power and of the judicial department, shall we be prepared to do something, or shall we not? Our friends who are what are called impossiblists would say we should do nothing. If we go before the people with that kind of a proposition and say that we do not propose to do anything, and that we could not do anything even if we were in power, then I wish to say right here that we may as well abandon it now, once for all, because we will never get into power. I wish to say in the second place, that if we ever have the misfortune to be placed in power with ideas of that kind in our minds, the result would be disastrous to the Socialist

party. I expect, however, to see this movement go on to ultimate success. The question simply is whether we, as members of the Socialist Party, shall do what we can to make the party a useful instrument for saving the people from plutocracy.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I rise to the regular order——

THE CHAIRMAN: No, I recognize Delegate Kraybill of Kansas.

DEL. KRAYBILL (Kan.): Last night, when asked if I endorsed the platform or program to which my name is subscribed, I said, "Yes, and for immediate use." Conditions have evolved to the point where they demand that this municipal program be made practical, and if the Socialists do not inaugurate it the Republicans and Democrats will do so. There are those who say that we should not cross the river until we get to it. We can never cross the river if we do not build a bridge to do so, and if we do not build the bridge the civic body will crowd down on the bank until we fall into the river. We cannot handle the entire situation at once. If every officer elected at the next election should be a Socialist we could not handle the situation. We would have to take up one thing at a time. Now, we people are accused of being unscientific and of not being Socialists. Last night when I declared for a scientific basis for Socialism I was told that I am a Hearst follower. Now, I want to say one word in advance. I believe I am as good a Socialist as there is in this convention. I was first merely an academic Socialist, but while a girl in the University I read Ruskin's "Crown of Wild Olives." While reading that book I realized the conditions of labor in England; I went a step further and I realized that labor all over the world is in that condition. When I finished that book I said, "Some day I will go out and fight the cause of the laboring man." (Applause.) In a few years more I went into the trade union. I have worked with the trade unions and have addressed several hundreds of them. I have spent months studying the conditions of the miners and the workers in the sweat-shops and factories in this country. I am only a woman, but I have read Karl Marx. (Applause.) I believe that I am a Socialist from every standpoint, if I am for a municipal program and immediate demands. I am for the full program of Socialism, and I do not believe that we should make one single concession. I am for the full program in the industries of the United States. The people must control those instruments that are used in producing the necessities of life so that no man or set of men can have a corner on the necessities of life.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I think the opposition to the adoption of this program is based on an honest fear that by adopting a working program for our guidance in those places where we shall be given the conduct of the powers of government, that we will cloud the real issue, that we will obscure the end in view; in other words, that we will secure votes for the immediate demands and not for the emancipation of the working class through the inauguration of pure Socialism. (Applause.) I only want to point out this one fact, while on the other question Comrade Titus of Washington has expressed by views correctly. It is this, that in other nations where the powers have tried to steal the Socialist thunder by adopting measures supposedly in the interest of the working class, that this has not been the effect. There is no danger in our adopting a working class program, a working class program such as is presented by this report, if we emphasize the fact that in following out these policies and in inaugurating these measures we are doing it only as a means to the end that we have in view, and not for any other purpose.

Delegate Hazlett (Colo.) rose.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will recollect that it was by consent that the comrade from Colorado was to receive the floor after the Colorado delegates had spoken upon the question.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): A point of order. There is no rule which provides that the Chairman shall make a list of speakers.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that very well.

DEL. SPARGO: And I protest that such a list is contrary to the wishes of this convention, unless the convention so desires.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just one second. I want to say this: One or two delegates from New York sent in their names, and I shall not recognize any one as coming ahead of those who have

already asked for the floor. The comrade here has the floor (referring to Delegate Hazlett).

DEL. SPARGO: As a matter of personal privilege, I desire to say that it was not my intention or the intention of these——

THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order.

DEL. SPARGO: I move the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have not the floor. Proceed; the comrade from Colorado has the floor.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I wish to speak of an aspect of the subject that has not been touched as yet, and that is the claims of the opposition that they stand upon a scientific and revolutionary standpoint. It seems to me, and it is my belief, that their position, instead of being scientific, is the position of the anarchists as a class. It is a position without method and without system; a position to move forward without knowing whither you are going. We have an instance in the State of Colorado at the present time. We have in Teller County in Colorado a bolting faction of the Socialist party. That is the chief seat of the strike. They curse the leaders of the strike and the officials of the Mine Workers' Association. As a result of that, in that place they have stood on the street corners and boasted that not one of them has been put in the bull pen, while in Telluride and Idaho Springs the leaders of Socialism who are also the leaders in the union movement have been deported. Now, Socialists claim to be different from the superficial anarchists who construe the word "revolutionary" as simply meaning letting everything go until you get in power, and then depend upon circumstances, as with the Paris Commune. I deny the correctness of this position. I believe in emphasizing the necessity of systematizing the means by which Socialists may learn what we can do when we get control of the means of production and other things. I understand that this program which is offered to us to-day is simply like a bill of fare: you con take part of it or you can leave part of it; you can use what you want. You do not have to swallow the whole thing, but you swallow it according to your needs. It also is a help in reference to the position in which it places the Socialist party. We all know we are being asked our position on various questions. Here we have something that we can show. This does not cover the whole system of affairs, but it does show the position of the party upon certain matters that come before us, and we can refer our people to something that has definite authority behind it. For this reason I am opposed to the indefinite proposition. It seems to me it is only superficial, and will lead astray the Socialists who have got about to the point of the Socialist philosophy. For this reason I favor the adoption of the program as it stands, and I am glad to have something to talk about. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: A point of order. We have not provided for keeping up a list of comrades.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is overruled. Do you wish to take an appeal? If so, take it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Exactly. That was the question of privilege I was referring to a while ago.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Do you take an appeal?

DEL. HILLQUIT: I do, for this reason, that in the rules we have provided for a certain parliamentary order, and we did not provide for a speaker's list. In making this appeal I do not do so because I want to speak, but I consider it an unjustifiable waste of time to keep a list. What it results in is this: On a question which probably could have been decided with a discussion by three or five men on each side, we have a list of twenty-five. Just now I may want to say something, and I will give my name in. In two hours from now I will be called upon to say what somebody else has covered, but I have made it my duty to still say it because I am called upon. And why? Let any one rise when he has something to say, and let the Chair recognize him.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You know how much more unsatisfactory it would be if all got up at once. The Chair would have to single out one, and he might single out the right one and might single out the wrong one and give him an opportunity to speak. I cannot see any objection to having each one ask for the floor and be recognized in his turn. Comrade Hillquit has not

been recognized because each one was given his turn. If the comrade had asked for it he would have got his turn. As it stands now he has no right to go in ahead of the others. (Applause.)

The decision of the Chair was sustained.

A Wisconsin delegate moved the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berger, of Milwaukee, has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I would like to be put down on that list, because when my time comes I want to move the previous question.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I also, because I desire to second it.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berger has the floor.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I suppose everybody is getting tired of this debate.

DELEGATES: No, no!

DEL. BERGER: I suppose everybody is getting tired of this debate, and everybody has made up his mind as to how he is going to vote. I for one am going to vote for this program. I am not going to make a speech. I am going to move the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): He has made a speech when he is not entitled to make a speech.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not heard any speech.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Yes, you have. He has just told how he is going to vote.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): A point of order. In moving the previous question he has no right to make any argument whatever.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

DEL. BERGER: Roberts' Rules of Order say that you can make a few remarks. Am I right, Comrade from Kansas?

DELEGATES: No.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of order. When Comrade Berger moves the previous question and goes on to make a speech you should make him sit down. He has no right to make a speech.

THE CHAIRMAN: Don't worry. Comrade Berger will be able to take care of himself without assistance from any delegate from Illinois. Comrade Meyer——

DEL. BERGER: A point of order. The Chair did not recognize my motion on the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. I was following the list and recognized Comrade Meyer, and he has the floor.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I recognize the fact that the proposed program is a plan for the guidance of legislation in the United States, but it is also for the purpose of guiding the soap box orators and speakers that are called upon to stand before the class-conscious proletaire. Now, the first function of the Socialist Party is the education of the men and women of the working class, such education consisting of a knowledge of the fundamentals of Socialism in order that economic conditions may be properly interpreted by them, so that our fellow-wage slaves, men, women and children, may know the cause of such conditions and the only remedy, the abolition of the system of rent, interest, and profit—competitive wage slavery. To teach the non-Socialist anything but the fundamentals of Socialism is to blur and envelop them in a mist which is created by the capitalist parties and is called by the Socialists reform, reactionary and vague, and rightly so, because the blindness of non-Socialists prevents them from penetrating such mist-containing methods. In the course of economic ethics some men and women become conscious of the fact that society is divided into two classes, wealth producers and those who eat the food, wear the garments and shelter themselves in the magnificent structures created by and taken from the former with the assistance of paper covered with ink and known as law, made by the latter and for the latter, because of the political and the law making and law interpreting and law executing power being in the hands of the latter. That exploiting class which is sustained by the policeman's club and the rifle, uses all the power in its hands to perpetuate the present system of parisitism to keep

in economic slavery, submissively and servilely, the working class of the world. Therefore, the working class must unite and take from the other class the powers of government for the purposes stated in the only program which is revolutionary, the platform of the International Socialist Party, the party of the workers of the world. (Applause.) Some comrades ask me the question, "When you are on the soap box and the non-Socialist comes to you and asks you what we are going to do about the work involved in municipalization or the reorganizing of municipal ownership of the street railways," I say this, that I will answer him, "We stand for all these things, but I recognize, my friend, that you do not understand why we stand for these things, because you do not understand the fundamentals of Socialism." I will have to go to work and talk about the fundamentals of Socialism, and I will do it for the class conscious proletaire in order that he may understand why we stand for these various measures which may or may not ameliorate the condition of the working class. As to the duty of legislators, comrades who may be elected to the legislatures, I desire simply to state this, that the Socialists elected to the legislature or council of any city, state or nation can do nothing else but work for Socialism by exposing capitalism and capitalist tactics employed to keep in submission the working class. In conclusion I stand neither for the substitute, which is a compromise, nor do I stand for the original. (Applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): A question of parliamentary inquiry. Under the rules that we are working under now I would like to inquire if there is any way to reach the previous question?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is, but I recognize Comrade Breckon.

DEL. HANFORD: We can only reach the previous question provided some comrade who is listed to speak should change his mind, withhold his speech and make that motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not answering your question, though I presume that may be true.

DEL. HANFORD: I ask that information of the Chair, as he appears to be working under rules that nobody knows but himself, and I think he is in duty bound to enlighten us.

THE CHAIRMAN: That may be true. I only hope the balance of the convention understand the rules better than the comrade from New York. Comrade Breckon has the floor.

DEL. HANFORD: Must that motion be seconded by another person on the list?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; it does not have to be seconded by any one.

DEL. HANFORD: Then why can't the original motion be made by any one?

THE CHAIRMAN: Because you have not been recognized for that purpose. I have recognized Comrade Breckon, and he has the floor.

DEL. BRECKON (Ill.): We hear a great deal these days from the Socialist platform and from the soap box and from all the newspapers respecting the improved tools of production and what wonderful things they have accomplished. It seems to me that we fail to recognize an improved tool of propaganda that has come into our national convention in the shape of a working program that makes these logical revolutionists able to be a united body on the important questions that are before us. Another thought: It has been said on this floor in the discussion that those who stand for this program are immediate demanders, that they are opportunists. Any one who will hunt up the definition of those terms will find that they mean the subordination of principle to tactics, and I want any man, revolutionist or otherwise, to point to a single instance in this program where there is any evidence of subordination of principle to the tactic that is laid down.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I will.

DEL. BRECKON: Very well. Next, the opposition in the main that has come before this body proposes a working principle that might infinitely better be defined, as it has been defined, that it might be wrapped up in a nutshell—an impracticable principle so-called. We tried it in Chicago in our city convention two years ago, and we sent our orators upon the soap box to meet the questions that came to us, and we were answering them in as many different ways as there were questioners and questions, and we found the need of working out the great fundamental propositions as they have been brought to us to-day.

We have before this convention for consideration an improved tool for the working out of this great proposition, and many are the minds in this convention that have got into the whirlpool of economic thought and that will appreciate the value of this improved tool in the working out of the economic problems before us to-day. (Applause.)

DEL. THAMS: May I be allowed to give my time to Comrade Berger?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the convention.

DEL. THAMS: I move the previous question. Motion seconded.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information. Will this previous question compel a vote on the first program?

THE CHAIRMAN: It does not. It will compel a vote upon the substitute.

DEL. CARR: All right.

The motion on the previous question was put and carried.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Before recording my vote may I make a statement of why I vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: I presume ordinarily you have a right, in the absence of a rule to the contrary or objection.

Objection was heard.

DEL. TITUS: A point of information. Do we not have two speakers now before we vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: We do. This is on the substitute. But understand, my ruling will be this, that the carrying of the substitute or disposing of that will not bring us to a vote upon the majority report. There will be the same right of discussion.

THE SECRETARY: The substitute by Walsh of Montana is as follows: "The National Convention recommends that in the event of any Socialists being elected in localities on state or municipal tickets, that they be guided thereafter in all their legislative acts by considering, 'Is the legislation in the interests of the laboring class? If so I am for it, if not I am opposed to it.'"

DEL. SLOBODIN: I want to speak to the substitute.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): A point of information. I want to know if we have the power of recording our ballot by States?

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be left to the convention.

A delegate moved to proceed to take a roll call on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand we have three speakers on a side. Comrade Slobodin wishes to speak in favor of the substitute.

Delegate Simons of Illinois stated that he wished to speak against the substitute.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I am in favor of the substitute, because I am against this concoction reported by the committee. I am not opposed, but am in favor of a working program, but this is not a working program, for the Socialist Party will not be able to work on this program. It is a jumble of various demands made by various parties during the history of the reform movement. It is not a concrete and coherent statement of demands made by a proletarian Socialist Party. (Applause.) We do not need such a guide for the various changing conditions, but want a statement of the fundamentals of scientific Socialism. No reform will be able to accomplish the emancipation of the working class. This program contains a jumble of things put in there because some so-called Socialist stands for them, such as uniform text books, tax reforms and all sorts of ideas jumbled together.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I am afraid I will have to do something I never did before, ask you to keep a little quiet in order to hear me, as my voice has failed me. I am one of those who admit that there are some mistakes in this platform. While recognizing these defects, I had hoped that there might be an opportunity to reach them by amendments, but I want to say that for the purpose of a working program I am here to fight for it. I am for it because I am a militant revolutionary Socialist and am not afraid to say where I stand on anything. I am for it because I am a class-conscious Socialist, and because you cannot fight the battle of the class-struggle anywhere but here and to-day in this present convention. (Applause.) I am for a working program because I am a democratic Socialist and believe that the rank and file of the party in convention should determine the policies of those who are the elected servants of the party and not leave them to their own sweet will to do as they see fit. (Applause.) I am for it because I am a proletarian Socialist, and because I believe that they ought to be controlled

as far as possible by an outline of the limits within which they must work, and not be subject to the autocratic dictation of some committee untrammeled by rules. (Applause.) Again, they have told us here that we needed no program until we had the co-operative commonwealth, until we had a complete victory. I am for a program because I am a scientific Socialist and not an idle dreamer. (Applause.) When the time comes that we shall have captured all portions of society we will not need our programs, we will only need to take over the things that we can run as fast as the removal of difficulties will permit us to act. Again, it has been said that we must strike at the heart of this by striking out the position of the municipal secretary. I tell you, I have had some experience. When I was in Belgium I was talking over the details of the work with Comrade Emil Vinck. He has taken hold of the work and has done it so thoroughly that it has strengthened the party and the bureau has been able to furnish the members with all the information that they needed, until, by virtue of the very example that he has set, he has compelled the Socialist Party of France two years ago to follow his example, and it is followed by the party in Germany. Are we going to lag behind when we in America here in the next year will certainly send one hundred, if not a thousand men, into the legislative and municipal councils in this country? We need to know what they are going to do. During the last year good men were elected to municipal offices, but with not the slightest notion of what they were going to do. They were all agreed that they were working in the interest of the working class, but there were no two that had an idea what these interests were. These are some of the reasons why I ask you to accept a program to some extent, even if you are not able to go any further. Or if you can take the time, if you will indicate necessary amendments, I will agree with you there. But by all means do not leave us for another four years subject to a long string of abuses which we are just beginning to see the faint shadows of in half a dozen cities in this country, which will confuse the workers and hinder the progress of the party.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): A point of information. Is this list that has been used on the table there, to apply to this question, or is it cancelled?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is cancelled; the previous question is moved.

DEL. BOSKY: That means that I have no right to speak?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, when the previous question is moved you have a right to vote it either up or down, as you please.

The Secretary then read the substitute offered by Delegate Walsh.

Delegate Walsh moved a roll call by states. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It requires a majority vote to call for a roll call.

The question being put, the motion for a roll call was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed upon the original question before the house, and that is the substitute.

Upon vote, the Chair declared the substitute defeated.

DEL. HILLQUIT N. Y.): I move as a substitute for the report of the committee the following: "Resolved, that the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Executive Committee for revision and adopted, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only."

Seconded.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. I maintain that the Chair has no right to entertain the substitute unless there are one or two amendments before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. There was a motion before the house, a motion to adopt. I offered as a substitute that the report be not adopted but be referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption. It is fully in accord with parliamentary rules and procedure to entertain the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: You offered it as a substitute.

Vice-Chairman Wilkins assumed the Chair, and the ruling of the Chair was sustained. Delegate Stedman resumed the Chair.

Delegate Webster (Ohio) rose.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman——

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade

from Ohio has the floor unless you have a point of order or a question of personal privilege.

DEL. BERGER: A point of order. Have I a right to make an amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, the whole report is open for amendment. Delegate Webster of Ohio has the floor.

DEL. WEBSTER: I move to amend the report by striking out the part beginning, "Whereas, the Committee on State and Municipal Program," and ending with the words just before "State Program." Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please send the amendment up in writing. I will state this to the convention, that in dealing with all the motions I will try to confine myself to the particular paragraphs, and then we can dispose of them. It will be better than taking it up seriatim.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): The motions that have been already made will include all that matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the Secretary read the paragraph as it reads as amended?

THE SECRETARY: The amendment of the gentleman from Ohio contemplates striking out of the preamble all of that portion beginning with "Whereas," in the sixth paragraph, and going down to the words "State Program."

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have an amendment to that.

The Secretary read the substitute of Delegate Berger, that the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have now before us the entire report. There is a proposed amendment to a portion of the report. Now, if you want to dispose of that, do as you please, and then dispose of it all.

DEL. BERGER: I believe this that is offered is as good as a substitute for the whole. It embraces the whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the same as Delegate Hillquit's motion, and it is not in order at this time.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I am sure the mover of the amendment just made will accept a suggestion I am about to offer, and therefore I don't care to announce it as an amendment to the amendment. In order to include all that matter to which he refers it should strike out paragraph 6 above the word "Whereas" to "State Program." If you strike out what he has moved to strike out and leave that stand there, in the manner offered in the report——

DEL. WEBSTER: I accept the suggestion.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): There seems to be some misunderstanding as to the exact changes which they have made in their report from the printed report. I would like to ask for the reading of Section D, which does not stand in the report as it did stand in the printed copy. Also for the paragraph beginning "Therefore, be it resolved;" I would like to ask if they have changed that. I don't know as they noticed this. It provides that the permanent secretary's office shall be at the National Headquarters. Have they changed that, too?

DEL. UNTERMANN: You will see that Section D does not change the paragraph beginning "Therefore." Section D reads as follows: "The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and whose compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Committee."

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I hope this convention will not adopt the report of the committee——

THE CHAIRMAN: You will have to confine your remarks to the amendment.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I hope the convention will not accept the amendment, nor the report, which is liable to do harm to the Socialist Party. I am not against a working platform, but I am against a working platform as the expression of this convention. I hope this report will be sent to the various states or the various counties or locals. If we

have to discuss this program on its merits the discussion of every part of the program on its merits will take a week. I am not ready to swallow the whole thing as it is here, and I believe it ought to be referred. I have no objection to this program being distributed as literature.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is the amendment. Until that is disposed of you will be out of order.

DEL. GOAZIOU: Yes, the amendment should precede the whole report technically.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you get to the rest of the report that will be disposed of.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I wish to speak on the amendment, and I wish simply to say: Read the report, please which suggests that it is a condensation of the encyclopedia, and then read the encyclopedia. This amendment will really handicap the party. The section which it is moved to strike out makes it possible, as soon as the Executive Committee deem it necessary, to make a practical and uniform plan. Now, I speak for Wisconsin, and I want to tell you that in Sheboygan if there had been such a committee and such a program and such a secretary as this the work there would have been different. That is all I want to say.

Delegate Weaver (Cal.) moved the previous question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I desire to speak on the previous question when it is ordered.

The Vice-Chairman assumed the Chair and recognized Delegate Stedman.

The question being put on the previous question it was carried.

DEL. STEDMAN: I have no doubt but what if this was referred to the National Committee and they were to revise it, the collective wisdom of the National Committee would far exceed the puny knowledge of the commitee that worked on it or the special committee of the last convention. But I sometimes think that if this convention should have a permanent committee on that subject, that would not pay any great attention to national affairs, but would confine their attention to the one subject, that in the course of four or five months or perhaps ten, they might have wisdom equal to some of those in the New York delegation. (Laughter.) I believe we should act along the line of the Indianapolis convention. I at that time urged the appointment of this committee. I believe the best results will ultimately be realized by a continuous committee upon this subject. I think we need committees to look after the national, municipal and local political work and the literary movement within the Socialist Party. At this time the Socialist movement with its growth and development should have special committees on special things to which they will devote their entire time, or at least a major portion of their time. For that reason I am against the proposed amendment and in favor of a continuous committee upon this subject. (Applause.)

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I, like Comrade Simons, am a democratic Socialist, and I demand that a state shall have the privilege of paying for that which it wishes to have, and for no more. Now, as I understand, the comrades from Illinois, or at least a great many of them, are opposing this thing in toto. I am in favor of the general proposition, but I am not in favor of spending our money to keep a committee here to club them into submission to my ideas. (Cries, "Hear, hear," and applause.) For that very reason I do not want this committee given any such authority. If this report goes out to the people of the different states they will know whether this thing is best or not. We are just now in an experimental stage on this question of immediate demands. If the local in Chicago believes that the immediate demands are not the best thing for Socialism I demand that they should have the right to try it without them. I believe for one that in Cleveland, Ohio, the demand for immediate demands will cause a growth in Socialism, and I want them to try that in Cleveland, but I do not want to compel these gentlemen in Chicago to help pay for our work in Cleveland.

The question was called for and Delegate Webster's amendment was defeated.

DEL. HILLQUIT: May I ask what is now before the convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: That portion of the report which has not been acted on. The entire report is before the convention.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Is it now in or-

der to move to refer the matter, the same as I have before?

THE CHAIRMAN: You moved before to refer to the National Committee as a whole for revision, they to revise it if possible?

DEL. HILLQUIT: Exactly.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose it is. Another motion intervened.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Then I so move now.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move that the report be referred to the National Commitee for revision and adoption, and that when so revised and adopted the report shall have the force of a recommendation only. (Seconded.) Now, I desire to state my reasons for my motion. I am practically in favor of a state and municipal program. I think a state and municipal program is absolutely necessary for a party that expects to do some work in the political field and does not want to do the work in a haphazard manner. But I am just as emphatically opposed to the present draft. I say that while I am in favor of a working program and of some of the points contained in this program, it would take some one to edit and go over it paragraph by paragraph and revise it. I will call the attention of the delegates to but a few things. For instance, on the public schools we have altogether unnecessary detail. The provision for uniform school books, the provision for the choice of text books by a commission—they are all things that may be debatable, and we certainly cannot see why a proletarian party should stand for such things. I call the attention of the delegates to this clause providing that members of the state militia are to be exempt from all other military service. What in the name of goodness and common sense does a Socialist convention have to do with that question? (Applause.) And why should we want to confine the state militia to strike-breaking and exempt it from military duty? I will call the attention of the delegates to this clause: "All land held for speculation and land not actually used by the owners to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of ten per cent on the assessed valuation as fixed by the owner." If there is anything to encourage land speculation, why, that is the thing; give them ten per cent more than they themselves ask. (Applause.) Public control of the entire liquor traffic; I don't know why this clause is necessary in a working class political program. And if you will read it from beginning to end you will find things of this kind all through. For instance, the right of privates in the state militia to elect their officers; can't you imagine anything more revolutionary, more class-conscious, than these demands to go before the public with? I say that if we adopt this as it stands we will make ourselves ridiculous. (Applause.) I say at the same time that we cannot leave this convention without making adequate provision for the adoption of a state and municipal program. Now, I believe that the only way to do will be to refer it to the National Committee. The National Committee may elect a sub-committee of three; not to put them like a jury in a room over night and have them work it out, but give them a month for it. Let them study the question; let them discuss it leisurely and sensibly and write it out, and then send it to the committee as a whole, and when they have adopted it it will be in time for the election of state and municipal officers to be guided by. We are now on the eve of an important state or municipal election. We can bide our time; we can wait; but introduce something that we will not be ashamed of and have to explain for four years to come.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): A point of information. Is there any way for me to get on the floor and say something against this motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize you next.

DEL. UNTERMANN: Judged by the repeated questions as to the saneness of mind of your committee, which have chiefly been raised on the part of the New York delegation, you would think the whole intelligence and common sense of this convention was massed in the New York delegation. We have studied this thing and talked it over carefully and long and discussed every position. I will just notice one point, as to the militia. The question is asked, what in the name of common sense has the question of the militia got to do with a class-conscious Socialist program? The men and women who act together as class-conscious So-

cialists may want to use the militia. Now, in order to be able to use the militia we will have to knock out the present militia law, which takes the control of the militia out of the hands of the state authorities and places it in the hands of the capitalist president. When we take the control of the state into our hands we want to have the control of that militia, and not the capitalist president.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. I desire Comrade Untermann to talk to the motion made by Comrade Hillquit of New York.

DEL. UNTERMANN: I am explaining why we took this action.

THE CHAIRMAN: You rise to a point of order, but carry on an argument. What is your point of order?

DEL. MEYER: My point is that he should speak to the motion to refer this to the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not well taken.

Delegate Collins (Ill.) raised a similar point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade from New York pointed out one paragraph of the program. Delegate Untermann at the present time is answering the point made by Comrade Hillquit in regard to the militia.

DEL. UNTERMANN: The point has been made that the reasoning faculties of the committee are out of order, and I am trying to show what we did, and in order to do so I must be able to make my point. But I do not care to discuss it any further than just to say that in regard to the militia law we did know what we were doing, and that in every case we knew what we were doing, though it may displease the New York delegation.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): I have tried to get the floor, and could not, and now if there is any possible chance I want to talk on this program, or amendment, or substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have the floor now. Your three minutes are running now.

DEL. BOSKY: I say that great confusion exists as to this whole question. Some reason that a program will be all right here because it has worked in Germany. We have heard of the great success of the Socialist Party in Germany. But you forget that the conditions over there are entirely different. In Germany they have an emperor, and the Socialist Party has nearly four million votes. But here the situation is altogether different. We have got a constitution, and when we get a majority then we can take the powers of government into our hands. But this will take a long time. We all agree on what we want; we only disagree on the tactics to be adopted in this convention. Comrade Berger of Wisconsin thinks they have had great success, but the success is only temporary.

DEL. HERRON (N. Y.): I wish simply to call the attention of the convention to the fact that Comrade Hillquit's motion amounts to a substantial adoption of the report of the committee. There seems to be an apprehension in the minds of some that the passage of his motion to refer to the National Committee is equivalent to a rejection of the report. Such is not the case. His motion to refer would amount practically to an adoption of this report, only it is to be revised and edited by a committee appointed by the National Committee. Now, comrades, do not put some of us in the position of being obliged to put ourselves on record as voting against a state and municipal program, when we are not in any such attitude as that. I have always been and have only recently written in favor of a practical working program to be put into the hands of aldermen and state legislators who shall be elected. We are heartily in favor of that. The New York delegation has been referred to as being opposed to a working program. Such is not the case; but this motion has been made to revise because we are in favor of securing a working program that shall not have in it elements that will be misleading, and will be not only misleading but dangerous. It is certainly very true, and we all agree, that if the Socialist Party is to elect men to political office they should have political experience, and they should understand how to initiate legislation even when they are in the minority. If we had had a program we would not have had the experiences that we have had in some of the states, perhaps in some of the Massachusetts municipalities. The adoption of the motion of Comrade Hillquit will result in the reference of the program to a special committee appointed by the Na-

tional Committee, and then the report will come before you adopted, and we can put ourselves upon record as voting for it, as we desire to do. It will come before you adopted and revised, with some of these features which are misleading properly edited or revised, so that they can go before the party of the country as a working program. I merely want to call your attention to that fact.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I have an amendment, that said report shall be——

THE CHAIRMAN: Send the amendment up. Comrade Spears offers an amendment to the motion to refer.

DEL. SPEARS: I am opposed to referring it to the National Executive Committee alone to decide the question. I was in favor of moving this amendment to refer the whole matter to a referendum of the entire membership, but the Chairman would not allow me to do so. Now, I propose to state my position on the whole thing in this way: We are a minority party, and we must oppose anything in the line of mere reform, and every bit of that program is reform, and I don't want any of it. I want our legislators in office to be the same as I when I go out on the soap box or in the factory or shop opposing the capitalist class, not by reform or compromise measures that may in some way help one or another of the different branches of labor and be injurious to the whole movement for all time. I want to get the whole thing as fast as I can get it. I am opposed to the motion as it stands now. I would have been in favor, if I could have got my amendment, of sending it to a referendum afterwards. I have no more confidence in a committee of seven or nine than in the Executive Committee. I have great confidence in the membership. I do not even want to leave it to this convention. I want to leave it to the membership, and when the membership decides that in the interest of the Socialist movement they want to have that, all right, I will have to submit, because I am a part of them, but I won't preach it.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): There is no warmer friend of a practical working program in this convention than Victor Berger himself. We must have a program for the guidance of the united army of Socialism. We had almost 20,000 Socialist votes in Milwaukee, which means almost one-third of the entire vote. We had a working program there, and we must have a program. Now, I am saying this in order to satisfy you and make it certain to every one of you that we are in favor of a working program. But this report that is given to us by the committee is not a working program. It is a real impossiblist program. There are some things in it that are simply impossible and ridiculous. (Applause.) I cannot tell the people in Milwaukee to select some of those planks; they are all impossiblist planks. Now, I can see that for once Chicago and Milwaukee agree. Now, comrades, the best possible way out of it is to refer this to the National Committee. You have 31 people there, selected for their special fitness for propaganda. They will go over it carefully, and if necessary bring it before a referendum of the party. If that is done I will leave it to the referendum, I promise you. (Applause.) I am not afraid of the judgment of the membership of the Socialist Party of America. I know what the judgment of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin is, and we are not so much more intelligent than the rest. Now, Comrades, those of you who are in favor of a municipal program ought to be willing to refer. Those who are not also ought to refer, because this will give you a chance to discuss it. Please have it referred to the National Committee. I thank you.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of personal privilege. Isn't the substitute before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. MEYER: Then I raise the point of order that the discussion is not in order. It is the same point I raised awhile ago when you decided it was not in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: This point is a motion to refer.

DEL. MEYER: To refer the substitute. There is an amendment, and I desire to move the motion on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills has the floor. If you want to make the point later I will give you the floor and I will entertain a motion to amend.

DEL. SPEARS: A point of order. You refused my motion to amend.

THE CHAIRMAN: That may be. Comrade Mills has the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I have only three minutes, and I would like to have order while I speak. I do not think there is any dispute of such a nature as leaves any question as to how this convention will act on the matter of a working program. The only question now before us seems to be the question as to how the admitted mistakes in the program as submitted shall best be remedied. If you will read again the report itself, it provides for a standing committee on the municipal program subject which shall not make a recommendation and go out of existence as this motion proposes, but shall remain in existence and be all the time in a position to repeat the recommendations throughout the year and the years. The standing committee which we have had has been doing some work during the previous years, and it is simply a question now whether the admitted mistakes shall be revised by this convention here and now, or shall be left in the hands of the standing committee of specialists appointed on this subject, or shall be referred to the National Committee, made up of men living in thirty different states, who never have seen each other yet and do not know each other. The members have that committee, have spent a long time, and have turned the whole matter over to you. I as a member of that same committee urge that this matter shall not be given to the National Committee, but that it shall be disposed of by this convention or shall be left in the hands of the Municipal Committee which is proposed under the resolutions now before the house. (Applause.)

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I have unfortunately happened to be one of those Socialists who have been elected. I have a long record, five terms in the legislature and one in the city government. I am for a working program, but I am not for that working program (applause). There are many things in there, as has been mentioned, that I believe should have no part or place in a socialistic recommendation even. (Applause.) I am sure that it is not within the power of this convention—we have not the time now, for we are going home, many of us—to enable us to give this matter consideration in all the several details of its multitudinousness —that is a good word—to go over all the ten thousand recommendations and consider each of them on their merits, together with all the numerous amendments and counter amendments and points of order and every other thing, it would take us until at least a week after the next national campaign before we got to the end of it. The thing is to refer it somewhere, to some committee that can make such alterations as will make it a document that I personally would be proud of. And then if, after it is thus improved, any other comrade or body of comrades want to submit it thus improved to the membership, I will vote for its submission. So I ask of the convention that whatever we may do, whether it is a question of reference to the National Committee or of reference to a standing committee on municipal program, give it to some body of people, to the Municipal Committee or to the National Committee. I say that because I am for a program, but I say it because while I will be forced to vote for it as it is, because I want a program, yet I do not desire to go out from this convention standing for some of the propositions contained in that report. So I say the best way out of it, the intelligent way out of it, is to refer it to a committee to edit it, improve it, and then let the membership act finally on it if a referendum is demanded.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Am I in order to move the previous question?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. HAYES: Then I will hold the floor—

DEL. SPEARS: There is an amendment here.

DEL. HAYES: I move the previous question. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to put it. The previous question is moved and seconded. All in favor of putting the previous question will signify it by saying Aye. Contrary No. Carried.

DEL. HAYES: I want to speak in favor of Comrade Hillquitt's motion.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I want to speak against.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I think one of the meanest things I ever saw on the floor of a convention has just occurred.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order now. I have recognized some one else.

Delegate Phelan protested against the ruling, which was followed by considerable confusion, and the Chairman rapped for order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved. Is there any other person who wishes to speak in favor of reference?

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): Some of the members are in doubt as to how we should vote. If the amendment of Comrade Hillquit passed, will it go to a referendum vote afterwards? That is what we want to know?

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot tell. It may be buried by the National Committee. No one can tell that. I am not here as a prophet. I do not know what the National Committee will do with it. The only thing I know is the motion before the house, which is to refer it to the National Committee. I will recognize Comrade Meyer.

DEL. HERRON: A point of order. You stated to the convention that this is to refer to the National Committee. It is to refer to the National Committee for adoption. That is the resolution.

The Secretary, being called on, read Delegate Hillquit's motion.

DEL. CARR: A question of personal privilege. I have been trying for some time to get the floor to move an amendment to refer it to the party after the National Committee shall revise it. I believe it would certainly be the sense of this convention that that ought to be done.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted by the mover of the original motion that it be refered to a general referendum.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): Mr. Chairman, there is one constitutional provision——

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. If this amendment carries to refer to the National Executive Committee for revision and adoption and then to have the force of a recommendation only, does that mean that it carries with it the election or appointment of this committee mentioned in there who will have the power to name a secretary or elect a secretary and add that expense to the national treasury?

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will state that the National Committee may revise it in that respect or in any other, and when revised it will go to the membership on referendum.

DEL. DALTON: Is a referendum provided for?

DEL. HILLQUIT: It is provided for.

DEL. SPEARS: Will the submission to the referendum be clause by clause or as a whole?

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Texas): Adoption as a whole.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order. The previous question has been called for, and we should vote on the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Will the Secretary please read the motion?

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. About a fourth of the members have asked for recognition and have been recognized. My name is on the list, but it has not been called, and I have repeatedly asked for the floor since. I see no good reason for it. I am asking for information.

The question was called for.

DEL. WOODBEY: I have not got the amendment. I have nothing except the original motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that it be referred by the National Committee to a referendum of the party.

DEL. WOODBEY: I ask the Chairman to please answer my question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is impossible. There are lots of questions I can't answer, and that is one of them. There is nothing before the house at the present time, but the substitute to refer, which the secretary will please read.

The Secretary read the motion as follows: "That the report of the committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Committee for immediate revision and adoption, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only, when approved by referendum."

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the latter part

and inserting that it shall be referred to the party for adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Write out your amendment and send it up.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): When he gives you his amendment I wish to have the motion read as follows: "That this report be referred to the National Committee, and this committee shall refer it to the membership of the party." (Seconded.) That is all I desire to say. I want a vote taken on that.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I simply want to plead that you send this out for discussion and for further alteration, because of the fact that we need the education and the time that we spend in discussing this will not be wasted. There are some things in it I do not like and many that you do not like, but at any rate if you pass this and send it to a referendum, I am pretty sure we will do a lot of educational work on State and Municipal Program. (Applause.)

The motion to refer was then put and declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Resolutions, I understand, has a resolution to offer. You have adopted the constitution but you have not heard the final report of the Committee on Resolutions, and you have made no provision for the campaign. The Committee on Resolutions has the floor.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. SPARGO, of the Committee: Comrade Chairman and comrades, you have already before you in print a resolution from Local San Francisco. The resolution reads:

> "Resolved, by the Socialist party of America in convention assembled, that the Socialist party condemns all propaganda organizations not connected with the Socialist party doing Socialist propaganda, and that no member of the Socialist party shall be a member of any organization not affiliated with the Socialist Party. If such organization is doing Socialist propaganda, being a member of any organization as before mentioned shall be sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist party."

Your committee moves that it be not adopted. (Applause.) Motion seconded.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. Carried.

DEL. SPARGO: Resolution submitted to the convention at the desire of the state of Washington as expressed by a referendum vote:

> "Be it resolved, that no county, state or national official in the Socialist party shall at any time hold an editorial or any other literary position on any capitalist paper or on any other paper not in harmony with the program of the International Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of America; provided, however, that the holding of such position shall not affect any comrades' standing in the party."

Your committee also moves that this resolution be not adopted. Seconded.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to ask a question, not as a matter of debate. Will somebody on this floor tell me exactly what the action taken in the German convention was on these lines?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know. The Chair cannot tell you exactly. I remember reading a translation but I cannot tell you. If there is anyone who can tell he might go to Comrade Titus and tell him. It is no longer a point of information.

Delegate Untermann offered to answer the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair holds that the only thing now before us is the regular order. Proceed, Comrade Titus.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to ask that the Chair allow Comrade Untermann to answer that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is all right, you make the motion that it is the sense of the convention that Comrade Untermann should answer the question. Are you ready for the question? All in favor will say aye. Contrary, no. Comrade Untermann, it is up to you.

DEL. UNTERMANN: The question in Dresden was not simply whether Socialists should be permitted to work on capitalist papers. The question was whether it was good tactics for a Socialist to write his grievances in a capitalist paper instead of a Socialist paper. Some of the opportunists had gone into such bourgeois papers instead of the party press when they had been turned down in their Socialist locals in Germany. Therefore the whole question

of the relation of Socialists to the party press came up, and it was decided finally that scientific papers, trade papers, and the like had nothing to do with the question and should not be ruled out, but it was decided that no Socialist should be permitted to write for any capitalist paper that viciously attacked the Socialist party.

DEL. TITUS: I had nothing to do with introducing this resolution in the state of Washington, and personally I am not in favor of it, but I am instructed by our state to support it to the best of my ability, though I do not know of any strong arguments to present in favor of it at this time. (Laughter.) But I called out the information given by Comrade Untermann concerning the German action and leave it for you to act.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

DEL. SPARGO: Resolution submitted by Delegate Reynolds of Indiana:

"Whereas, capitalism keeps the working class in subjection through force and through fraud; and

"Whereas, with the spread of Socialist philosophy and revolutionary ideals which are rapidly permeating the American people, it becomes and will become increasingly difficult to deceive the masses or to practice frauds successfully at the polls; and

"Whereas, capitalism is already turning to its last weapon and mainstay to check the rising revolutionary tide, namely, violent suppression by the army and militia; and

"Whereas, it has been made exceptionally difficult to weaken the strong right arm of plutocracy by impregnating the army and the militia with Socialism; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that we recognize the tremendous importance and the present necessity of making the rank and file of the army and militia disloyal to their brutal masters and loyal to their class and to the better future civilization.

"Resolved, that we hereby authorize and direct our National Executive Committee to take action for the focusing and concentrating of specialized determined propaganda for Socialism among the privates of the army and the militia over the entire country and its colonies."

Your committee moves that it be not adopted. (Seconded.)

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would like to ask the committee why it makes that report. Will it please explain?

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the committee wish to give its reasons?

DEL. SPARGO: The committee has no objection to doing so. The committee feels that at this time there is no particular reason why we should undertake a specialized propaganda among the military forces of the country. The committee also feels that it would be exceedingly difficult to do it, and that it would be unfortunate for the Socialist party in America to be precipitated into anything rashly at this time.

The question was called for, and the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee desires to make this motion, desires its adoption, and then desires to be discharged:

"The convention desires to place upon record its appreciation of the arrangements made by the local comrades for the convention, and the comfort and entertainment of the visiting delegates and their friends. To their efforts much of the success of this convention may be attributed, and we earnestly hope that the local movement will derive lasting benefit and inspiration from this historic gathering. We also desire to acknowledge with thanks the efficient assistance rendered to the convention by the national office staff. By their uniform courtesy and willingness to assist upon every occasion they have won the thanks of every delegate and of the movement they represent."

Your committee moves its adoption. (Seconded.)

The motion being put, was unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee is discharged, with the thanks of this convention.

The Committee on Credentials, and the Committee on Local Quorum being called on, announced that they had no further report to make, and they were discharged.

The Committee on Platform, through its chairman, made an announcement:

DEL. HERRON: In printing the platforms that were distributed yesterday in the convention hall there were several typographical errors. In one case a whole line was dropped out, changing the meaning. I would ask that the members of the convention as they leave the hall take the programs which they have today and the platforms with the typographical errors corrected.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the report of the committee will be received and the committee discharged.

Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

The Committee on Ways and Means being called on, reported through the Secretary, Delegate Kerrigan of Texas.

DEL. KERRIGAN: As secretary of the Committee on Ways and Means I desire to present the following further recommendations adopted by the committee:

"That the Socialist party of America adopt and copyright the platform, to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at such price as the National Committee shall fix.

"That the Socialist party adopt and copyright a badge to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at such price as the National Committee shall fix.

"That the Socialist party of America shall adopt and copyright a flag and have the same made in various sizes suitable for hall decorations, parties, etc., the same to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at a price fixed by the National Committee.

"All profits arising from the sales of the foregoing to be placed to the credit of the National agitation and organization fund."

This recommendation was adopted unanimously. The next one I will not sign, as I do not think the recommendation should be made by our committee. However, it was moved and carried that it be presented. It was adopted that—

"We recommend to the convention that the National Secretary and his assistant be made bonded officers.

"We recommend that the 4th day of July, 1904, be set aside by the Socialist party of America as Party Funds Day, and that all members of the party be called upon to give that day to collections and forwarding to the National Secretary such sums as they may thus raise, such collections to be placed to the credit of the agitation and organization fund, and that this day may hereafter be known as Party Funds Day, on which the membership will be called upon to act in the same manner.

"The committee recommends that the practice of comrades in many parts of the country, of writing letters and circulars to secretaries of locals in various states, appealing for funds for many presumably meritorious propositions, be discontinued. However, your committee does not think this way of raising funds should be discontinued providing the consent of the State Committee of the state in which the funds are attempted to be collected is first obtained.

"Your committee recommends that persons asking for contributions from the membership of the parties of various states be required to ask for such contributions through the state secretaries of such states.

"We recommend that three per cent of the profits on all entertainments, picnics, etc., given by the state, local or branch organizations of the Socialist Party be paid to the National Secretary for the credit of the national organization fund.

"Your committee presents to you a working plan and a method of raising party funds by means of adopting a label on approval, for use on all literature to be read or circulated by the party members. The label follows in a general way the plan adopted by the Typographical Union in its use of the label to show that the printing is done by union men. So the label presented would show that the literature bearing the party label had the official approval of the party."

The committee voted unanimously to recommend its use on books, pamphlets and leaflets, but were a tie as to periodicals, as only eight members were present, one member being absent from the meeting. We are of the opinion that the use of this label seems practical in every way, and if adopted would be the means of producing much needed revenue for the party. The committee further desires to state in that connection that the working plan prepared is of some length necessarily, and unless the convention desires it it will not be read.

It would probably take ten or fifteen minutes to read the plan in all its details. The committee further is of the opinion that something should be done in order to stop the practice of circulating books and other literature without any compensation to the party and some means of controlling such matters. We think that the party is entitled to some compensation for the work of its membership and the fact that its agitators and organizers are continually enlarging the existing market for Socialist literature and making a new market. Now, it will be entirely with the convention as to just what disposition will be made of the present report. I presume that the report should be disposed of in the regular way if so desired.

Delegate Miller of Colorado moved that the report be referred to the National Committee for such action as it may deem best. Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the committee will be discharged. The report of the Auditing Committee is next in order.

The National Campaign Fund.

DEL. MAILLY: I did not have time to make this motion before, as I was busy writing it at the time you passed to the next order of business. I ask permission to introduce this resolution now.

Consent was given.

Delegate Mailly then read the following resolution: "Resolved, That this Socialist Party recommends that party members donate during the month of June, 1904, one-half day's wages to the National Campaign Fund, one-third of the amount derived therefrom to be retained by the local, one-third by the state, and one-third by the national organization."

On motion the resolution was adopted.

The Auditing Committee reported through Secretary Dobbs that the books of the National Secretary were found to be in good condition and recommended that a permanent auditing committee be appointed.

On motion, duly seconded, the report of the committee was accepted, the recommendation accompanying the report adopted, and the committee discharged.

DEL. HERRON: Mr. Chairman, it was stated here on the floor of the convention by Comrade Mailly day before yesterday, that at the close of this convention he would hand in his resignation as National Secretary, and I rise for one, not only to speak my own protest, but what I hope will be the protest of this convention, against the resignation of Comrade Mailly, especially at this particular time. It would be a matter of great calamity, as Comrade Titus said, to the party as a whole and to the development of the movement if Comrade Mailly should present his resignation now, upon the eve of the national campaign, and for that matter, if he should present it at all. I take, I believe, all the responsibility upon myself in this matter, because when Comrade Mailly was upon a bed of sickness and had put me under bonds not to nominate him for this position, I went from his sick bed and violated my word and nominated him for this position, and as is well known to us in New York, he has remained in this position very largely at the urgent request of many of his friends with whom he was formerly associated, and he has done it against his own will, against his own desires. He has desired very much to go back to work, which he would rather engage in; but I feel that notwithstanding what he has said, and notwithstanding his own desire in the matter, it is, I know, urgently desired that he withdraw his resignation for a number of months. I feel that we as a convention should request him that he withhold his resignation permanently if he will, but if not permanently, to withdraw it at least until the end of the national campaign and the national election. (Applause.) And, therefore, I I make a motion to that effect, that not merely as an expression of our appreciation of Comrade Mailly's splendid services, because I know we feel all that, but as a matter of interest to the Socialist Party upon the eve of the election, I make the motion that he be requested to withhold his resignation either permanently, or if not permanently, until after the close of the national campaign.

Motion seconded.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): As a member of the Local Quorum and in behalf of my friend, Comrade Eugene V. Debs, whose sentiments I believe I express, I second the motion of Comrade Herron.

I believe it is the duty of Comrade Mailly not to desert, and especially when we are right on the eve of battle, but to stand by the banner-bearer of the party at least until the election. (Applause.) I hope that Comrade Mailly will so understand his duty as a soldier of the Socialist revolution that he will stand through the battle and serve as he had promised, at least up to January 1st, 1905.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): It seems to me as though I am in a measure responsible for the unfortunate condition that prevailed at the time Comrade Mailly took the attitude that he did. It seems to me as though the climax that had been reached immediately preceding Comrade Mailly's manly attitude on this question was principally due to the bungling methods with which I, as the chairman of that day, attempted to handle the business immediately preceding that act. It seems to me that at this time I ought to say that from my point of view at least I should have refused to entertain Comrade Mailly at the time he took the floor, or others who unfortunately in the heat of battle said things against which the sensitive mind of anybody would rise. And it seems to me that to ask pardon is to do meager justice under the circumstances. Now, I want to call Comrade Mailly's attention to the fact that the Socialist Party of America is composed of recruits who have enlisted in the army of the working class, and that from among these recruits, these enlisted men, we select our officers, and that we do not concede the right to our officers to resign at pleasure. (Applause.) I insist that while Comrade Mailly owes it to his own self-respect to see that his own name and his own reputation are preserved, that he owes it to this movement to give, within the next few critical months, the immense capabilities he possesses to work in the interest of the working class of this country, if Comrade Mailly will study all the conditions. (Applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I was talking this matter over some little time ago with Comrade Debs, and Comrade Debs and myself came to a unanimous conclusion in the matter. We were of the opinion that we ought to accept Comrade Mailly's resignation, the same to take effect on the 31st of next January. I believe his term expires on the following day. (Laughter.) I want to say, however, that I am peculiarly fortunate in being able to know something about Comrade Mailly. Some of you know I went out on a lecture tour not long ago, and I never realized what kind of a man Mailly was until after that tour was over. I must say that any man that can retain his self-control and continually give back the soft answer that turneth away wrath under the aggravation of the letters from myself and committees and members and others, is certainly fully qualified for that position. I suppose Mailly possibly must have had a notion existing somewhere down in his heart that perhaps I did not mean all I said, or that I was laboring under difficulties, or something of that kind. But while I do not need to admit for a moment that in our movement there is any such thing as the indispensable man, I do insist that from time to time we do run across the man for the job, and when it comes to the question of National Secretaryship as shown by his performance of his services in the office, the man for that job is William Mailly, and we want him to stay right there.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that the date for the resignation be set for the 29th or 30th of some February. All in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. The motion is carried. Comrade Mailly has to serve. (Applause.)

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): I want to ask if Comrade Mailly tendered his resignation.

THE CHAIRMAN: He did not say he did.

DEL. MAILLY: Mr. Chairman and Comrades, if I had known that my words of two days ago would have resulted in this action I certainly would not have uttered them. I only want to say to this convention that I am a Socialist that belongs to the working class. I believe in discipline. I believe in the working class organization, in the working class uniting in order to achieve its emancipation. Believing that, I would be a poor soldier, I would be a poor Socialist, if I did not accept the call or demand of those with whom I am organized and of the movement of which I am a part. (Applause.) I would be lacking in the commonest, the

barest qualities of human nature if I did not appreciate your action. The only thing that I have to resent is the imputation that in this movement, this working class movement, there is only one man that can fill this job. I had hoped that in the interval between Thursday and to-day the delegates to this body would have selected one among their number or among the party membership whom they would deem capable of filling the position. I believe you have such men. I would think very little of the Socialist movement if I believed that there was only one man capable of filling any job in the party. (Applause.) But under the circumstances, in view of the present situation, I shall reconsider my determination, and I shall serve in the present position, in view of your command, until the election at least; and in doing so, in taking up this work again, in renewing my services in the national office, I pledge to you and pledge to those behind you, to the working class of this country and to those behind them again, the working class of the world, the best capacity, the best ability, the greatest devotion that I can give to this movement—the one movement worth living for, and the one movement worth dying for. (Applause.)

Report of the Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to the report of the Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.) of the Committee: On request of the Credentials Committee, a Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations was appointed. Delegate Lee was the chairman of that committee. He is exhausted with the work of the convention falling especially on him, and has asked me to report in behalf of that committee, which I heartily do. I will not trouble you with a recital of all that came before the committee. Two organizations were represented before the committee, the Polish Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Italian branches in the State of New Jersey. I will not read it all; it is too late. Our recommendation takes the form of a suggestion of a section or series of sections for the constitution, and in order that we may avoid an interminable discussion I move, on behalf of the committee, unless there are objections from members of the committee, that this matter be referred to the National Committee or Executive Committee, and by them to a referendum as an amendment to the constitution, that when endorsed by their respective state organizations, locals may be organized among those who cannot speak English, in the language which they most readily use.

The report of the committee in full is as follows:

> When endorsed by the respective state organizations, locals may be organized among those who cannot speak English in the language which they most readily use.
>
> Members of these branches shall pay state and national dues, shall affiliate with the respective state and local organizations, and be subject to its laws and shall be in all respects equal in rights and duties with all other members of the party.
>
> Locals so organized may form state and local organizations within the regular party organization.
>
> When the locals shall have been organized in any one of the foreign nationalities, they may on application to the National Committee secure the right to organize a national executive committee for that nationality, the members of which executive committee shall be subject to approval by the National Committee.
>
> Any difficulties arising on account of the organization of foreign-speaking locals, shall be referred for settlement to the respective executive committees with appeal to the National Committee.
>
> Each nationality so organized shall have the right to two delegates to the national convention, having voice and vote on matters affecting respective nationalities.
>
> The office of the National Secretary shall facilitate the work of any such Executive Committee, and wherever practicable, the work shall be carried on at the national office.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move the adoption of the report and recommendation of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. J. S. SMITH (Ill.): I rise simply to ask a question of the committee whether in their opinion this plan would not give those foreign-speaking

organizations double representation, and whether they will be part and parcel of the respective state and local organizations and thereby participate in the election of delegates to the national convention; and, second, part and parcel of their own organization, again participating in the election of their delegates to this same national convention.

DEL. GAYLORD: It was the opinion of the committee that the degree of double representation indicated by the proposed amendment is not of such sort as to endanger in any respects the rights or safety of the party organization, inasmuch as these two delegates are limited to voice and vote upon matters especially affecting their respective organizations.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I believe no member of the committee will object if it should be insisted upon that those two delegates from each foreign speaking organization be given simply a voice without a vote. I should not favor that, but I believe the members of the committee will accept the amendment if it is insisted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committtee accepts the suggestion of Comrade Smith?

DEL. GAYLORD: If it is insisted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you insist upon it, Comrade Smith?

DEL. SMITH: In justice to those who speak English, I do.

DEL. LEE: The committee understands that they speak only on questions affecting the respective nationalities. You still insist that they shall not have a vote but only a voice?

DEL. SMITH: I do not, provided that is embodied in this recommendation.

DEL. GAYLORD: It is so embodied.

DEL. LEE: They should vote upon questions affecting their nationalities.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to speak against the adoption of these rules. I think, as the constitution stands to-day, there is absolutely nothing to prohibit the organization of such foreign-speaking organizations as shall be desired, nor is there any provision against the united action of several of such locals within one state or in any geographical division or territory for the purpose of propaganda work. I think, however, a system like the one proposed, the organization of a party within the party and an official recognition of it, and the creation of a national executive committee of one certain language or branch of the party membership, will have a tendency to create division and antagonisms within the rank and file of the party. We have had that in olden times. We have had it among the Jewish speaking branches of the party, and it has created a good deal of dissatisfaction. Where you have a separate group within a party with separate interests in some respects which is unavoidable, I think that the only thing we can do in behalf of the foreign speaking residents of this country would be to urge upon the National Committee hereafter that they pay more attention to agitation and organization among the non-English-speaking residents of the United States. Our party organization is flexible enough to admit them within the party organization and allow them facilities for propaganda in their own language, and that is the only thing to be accorded to them. We are working on political lines; we are divided into states, and the states into locals, and in the locals we are again divided into ward branches, and must be so divided to exercise political activity. We could allow a number of Polish speaking comrades or Italian or German speaking comrades to form propaganda clubs or some such special divisions, but you cannot cut them all from the organizations to which they belong according to their residence. I am much afraid that this resolution as it reads now will be misleading and confusing in many respects—I therefore move as a substitute that we recommend to the National Committee that they hereafter give special attention to agitation and organization among non-English-speaking residents of the United States.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I am somewhat like Comrade Hillquit as to the formation of federations in the various languages. Under certain circumstances I think it would be necessary. The French-speaking element, for instance, thought some time ago that it would be to the advantage of propaganda amongst them to have a federation affiliated with the national organization. A proposition was submitted

to the National Secretary and by him to the National Quorum, and they referred it back to this convention. Since that time the local that I belong to passed a resolution that it favored a continuance of the present form of organization among the foreign-speaking element on one condition. That condition is that the documents and literature that should be sent from the national office should be sent out to the various locals in their respective languages so that they would not have to hunt up interpreters to read the correspondence that would come from the national or state officers. I could have organized a large number of organizations of French-speaking people and various others, but the trouble has been that under the present form of organization they could not find the necessary element among themselves to do the correspondence in the English language with the state or national office, and the result was that several locals which had been organized dropped out, lapsed, if you please, just for the reason that they could not find the necessary material to do the necessary correspondence. I believe if you would come to Chicago you would have men who are able to do the writing or to send out correspondence in the various languages. If this was done I believe we would not need any federation of foreign nationalities. I believe that in the forming of federations there is always danger; that is, there is the danger of conflict of interest between one or two individuals in the foreign federation and the national organization. For instance, if the National Secretary of a foreign organization, whether it be French, German or any nationality, failed to agree with the national office his influence would to some extent or entirely draw his organization away from the Socialist party, something that would not be done in the ordinary present form of organization if the literature would be printed in the various foreign languages.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I am in favor of the substitute or amendment offered by Comrade Hillquitt, because I think it will solve the question. I am opposed to the admission, in a general way, of these different organizations in the way proposed by the committee, for the reason that they say they allow the states to give the authority. Now, these organizations have national organizations; they have locals in New York and Chicago, say; suppose that New York accepts them and Illinois refuses them, there will be a confiict. The thing should be settled by the Executive Committee themselves. Let them settle it and let them try to get those comrades to go into the older organizations and to learn English if they intend to be in an English-speaking country. Of course I know it is troublesome where they can only speak one language. I am in favor of the substitute.

The question was called for.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I am a foreigner, but I am opposed to having inside of our party any organization composed of foreign-speaking members alone. I am in favor of having propaganda clubs, but am opposed to having foreign clubs transact the business of the Socialist party. I think we should urge the forming of such clubs among foreigners, but at the same time I do not think that they should transact the business of the party in a foreign language, because as a result there will certainly be people there who can speak English and they will mislead the people that do not understand the English language, by making misstatements or misinterpretations of that which is done in the English language. I have seen it done and know it. Therefore, I am opposed to taking any foreign organization or federation as such into the party.

The question was then put on referring the matter to the National Committee, and it was carried.

Supplementary Report of Trades Union Committees.

The Committee on Trades Unions, through Delegate Hayes of Ohio, presented the following supplementary report:

> Resolved, That the Socialist party warns the organized workers of this country to be on their guard against attacks upon their funds and we demand national and state legislation protecting these funds as well as the property of individual unionists against damages for alleged injuries inflicted by picketing, strikes and boycotts.
>
> Resolved, That the Socialist party declares its unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious open shop system; we demand in the name

of the workers of America the union shop, not only in privately-owned industry, but in all the governmental institutions of the nation, states and municipalities;

Resolved, That we demand union conditions on all purchases and contracts made by the nation, cities and states, not only a maximum eight-hour working day, but also the prevailing union scale of wages; and we point to the hostile attitude of the republican and democratic parties in congress, in Colorado and other states as evidence of the impossibility of obtaining union demands for the old political parties;

Whereas, every sign of the times indicates that the capitalist class of this country through its right hand, the republican party, and through its left hand, the democratic party, is seeking to destroy the labor organizations by means of injunctions and by legislation, limiting the rights of organized labor;

Resolved, That this vicious work can be prevented only by united practical action of labor on the lines of the class struggle; and

Resolved, That we call upon the wage-workers to join the Socialist party with a view to putting an end to the political conditions that make it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

SIGNED BY THE COMMITTEE.

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that the time is growing short and there probably are more questions to come before the house, and in view of the further fact that these supplementary resolutions are in the nature of a working platform, I make a motion on behalf of the committee that this be submitted to the National Committee and be adopted and submitted to a referendum vote along with the other portions of the working program adopted here this afternoon.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): Do I understand that this report on this trade union question made by the committee is a substitute for the other that we have adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is not a substitute. It is an additional report.

DEL. WALSH: I move to lay it on the table at this time. Seconded.

The motion to lay on the table was lost by a rising vote of 35 to 56.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I move the previous question on referring the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The Trades Union Committee having no further report to make, was discharged. The Committee on Constitution being called on, reported through Delegate Hillquit.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As a member of the Committee on Constitution I desire to call attention to the fact that the Constitution has never been adopted as a whole. I now move that it be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Final Action on Constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Constitution Committee's report be adopted as a whole.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.). I handed in an amendment——

THE CHAIRMAN: At the time the report of the Committee on Constitution was adopted most of the members of the Committee on Platform were not in the convention, and, furthermore, a great number of them were out who were on the program, and if I recollect, Delegate Berger was not here at the time.

DEL. BERGER: I was not here at the time that the constitution was adopted. I have something which would involve state autonomy. I have an amendment to make, and that amendment is in the hands of the Committee on Constitution. Comrade Richardson has got it and will read it to you.

Delegate Richardson read the amendment, as follows:

> "On the complaint of any National Committeeman, or of three locals in any state, of any acts on the part of such state organization or of any local subject to its jurisdiction, in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken, acting under rules of the National Committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity."

DEL. RICHARDSON: I move, first, that the word "any" in the first line be stricken out and the word "the" substituted therefor. Again, strike out the word "three" and insert after the word "locals" the words "representing in the aggregate one hundred members." And then I want this added: "But no such state shall be denied representation in the National Organization as the result of any such investigations unless a national referendum to the party membership shall first be ordered, and such referendum must include the vote of the state in question." I move those amendments.

The amendments were seconded

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, I believe the best thing would be to cut out the entire section. We do not want to meddle with the internal troubles of every state. No good can come from it. I, as National committeeman, do not want to meddle with the troubles of other states.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not even Chicago?

DEL. BERGER: No, not even Chicago. Let Illinois take care of its own affairs. Let Wisconsin take care of its own affairs, and let California take care of its own affairs. Therefore, I move you that we strike out the entire section; I mean to table the whole section.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): It strikes me that when this convention in regular session adopts a constitution, that that cannot be ruthlessly taken from the previous day's proceedings and tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: One second; the point of order is not well taken, for this reason——

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I beg your pardon, I am not raising a point of order, I am talking to the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I submit that if we want this thing altered let us first so decide. Let us vote against this if we do not want it, and if we want it leave it there.

DEL. MILLS (Kan): We have a clause in our National Constitution providing that no state shall adopt a constitution or a platform in violation of the provisions of the National Constitution. This clause does not create additional powers, as the comrade from Wisconsin seems to fear. The power is already in the constitution. The National Committee has adopted, and is now acting under rules providing for a method of procedure in case a complaint is made against any state for non-conformity with the National Constitution and with the national platform. This clause provides no other ground. No local quarrel can be investigated; no local action of any sort can be interfered with. The national constitution provides that the states must conform to the national constitution in their platforms. This clause does not create additional power. This clause does not provide authority for invading any state. This clause is put into the constitution not to create state autonomy, but for the purpose of prohibiting the National Committee from violating state autonomy. It is an effort to protect the citizens; it is an effort to protect the rights of a state. The National Committee is to enforce this national constitution. Suppose a state does not adopt a constitution in violation of the national constitution; suppose a state does adopt a platform in violation of the national platform; has this party no authority to see to it that the party that calls itself the Socialist party for any state shall be able to enforce the provisions of our constitution; that the constitution of the state and the platform of the state shall conform with the corresponding national documents? (Applause.) This provision does not create that authority; it only declares that if any state has to complain against another it must do so through its National Committeeman. For instance, if Missouri is to complain against Kansas it must speak through its National Committeeman, not by an unseemly passage of resolutions, not by making complaints by unauthorized letters, for no state in America can be found whose committeeman will file a complaint against a state for violating the national constitution or platform until it is reasonable to take it for granted that there is ground for complaint. But within the state, suppose our state of Kansas adopts a platform in violation of the national platform; shall we depend upon this outside state alone? It is suggested that it ought to be three lo-

cals with not less than a hundred members. Very well; that no quarrel can be brought from a state to the national organization on any other question than the question of conformity to the national constitution and to the national platform. But no irregular and unseemly method of procedure can bring it even then. But then if it is plain that any state is irregular in form as to its platform or its constitution, they have got a National Committeeman to represent them under any circumstances or on any question.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I am in favor of Comrade Berger's motion to strike out. The National Committee has already the power to interfere when the state violates the national constitution or platform. What is this provision? To give the minority in a state power to bring up its grievance for so-called violation of the national constitution or platform, and to bring its grievance before the National Committee; in other words, to make a state quarrel a national quarrel, and that is what we have. I therefore am in favor of striking out the resolution.

The hour of adjournment being near, Delegate Sieverman moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention continue in session until all its business is transacted. Motion seconded and adopted.

DEL. HYLAND (Neb.): The present time would seem to be a good one to understand this matter. The comrade who spoke so forcibly against striking out—the chances are that he did not know what was in there when he voted for it. When a member can usurp the state laws and state name, go from one state into another state, and go back to his own state and be protected in his rule, then that state has no means of redress. We have had several cases of that kind in the last year. Nebraska has had several cases where individuals came in from other states and violated its state autonomy. For that reason I am in favor of this proposition. We must have state autonomy. The state of Illinois will not permit me to steal in Iowa and then go to Illinois and be protected from prosecution. The laws of the United States compel the surrender of a criminal to the authorities of the state in which he has committed the crime.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I have within the last year known of cases on both sides of the question here. In spite of that, or rather in view of that and as a consequence of that, I am in favor of cutting out any such provision. We have trouble enough without mixing in the smaller quarrels. Let us take care of ourselves, but co-operating in every way possible to further the cause of Socialism.

Delegate Robbins (Ky.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I am opposed to striking this out. This clause was dictated by comrade Mills, and I wrote according to his dictation. I consider it unfair for the man who dictated this clause to try to have it stricken out now, after a number of delegates have left the convention.

At this point there was much confusion on the floor of the convention. Delegate Mailly made an explanation in regard to Delegate Mills' attitude, and the speaker resumed:

DEL. CLARK: In the presence of the delegates I want to beg Comrade Mills' pardon. I did not understand that he wanted it to stay there. (Applause.) When he was speaking I was outside getting a cheese sandwich and when I came in I misunderstood the purport of Comrade Mills' remarks. Now, this constitution will go to the members of the party. I am going to vote in favor of it being voted upon seriatim, clause by clause. It was adopted by the delegates in this convention several days ago. Let us refer it to the membership, and if the members of the party want it then we want it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: In the first place, as chairman of the Committee on Constitution, I desire to decline any responsibility for this clause. It was adopted by several members, though I did not know the way in which it had been adopted. Comrade Clark has explained how it was written. It has never met with my approval and never will meet it. I believe for one that a general statement to the effect that the platform of the party is the supreme expression of the party, and all state platforms and constitutions are to conform thereto, would have said about all that we are called upon to say. I do not believe in the adoption of a code of

criminal procedure as part of our constitution. I do not believe in making rules which will facilitate and invite interstate quarrels. I believe, if we strike this out, leaving here the other clause which prohibits one member or state from interfering with the affairs of another state without the consent of that state, we have done about all that we are called upon to do to guard the party and the members and the autonomy of the movement in each state, and no more than that should be demanded.

The question was then called for and put on a rising vote, the result being 39 in favor of striking out, and 31 against; so the section was declared stricken out.

Eligibility of Candidates.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I have an amendment under the head of "State Organizations." It is that "No person shall be eligible or recognized as a candidate of the Socialist party for any political office unless he or she has been continuously a member in good standing in the party for one year or more." Seconded.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I rise to a point of information. How does that apply to members that belong to new organizations that have been in existence only a short time?

DEL. SPEARS: I don't want it to apply to new organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have his answer.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): It does seem to me that the amendment would tend to cripple the work where there was not a large club or local. It is all right in Cook County, where every other member of the club may be a candidate, but it is not a good thing in isolated districts of the state. I submit that a campaign for a Socialist ticket is one of the best possible means of educating the people on Socialism that we could possibly find. There are a good many places where a county ticket, for instance, could not be made up of the best Socialist material, and —you may call me a heretic for saying this, but where branches are satisfied that they could get suitable candidates who are class-conscious Socialists outside of the branch, they ought to have the privilege of putting them up, because there are men like that who for some reason are not members of the club. I know the position seems to be inconsistent, and I may be criticised for taking this position, but I believe this resolution would cripple the Socialist movement in a great many counties in the United States, and I hope therefore that this matter of nominations will be left to the judgment of the party in the respective localities.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): If that section is adopted won't it interfere with state autonomy? I raise the point of order that it would.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a point of order raised, and the Chair is in doubt, but I will rule that the point is good. The point is made that it would be improper and violate the other provisions of the constitution, as it would be in conflict with state autonomy.

A DELEGATE: How about unorganized states?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not involved in the question, because it does not involve unorganized states. I shall rule the point of order well taken.

Delegate Spears appealed from the decision of the Chair.

DEL. SPEARS: I maintain that this convention, constituted of the representatives of the members of the Socialist party, has a right to say who shall be their candidates, and that the Socialist party shall not be used, as it has been used in some sections, to assist the other parties. I want to stop that, and I submit we have that authority.

The Vice Chairman put the question on the appeal from the Chairman's decision, and the Chair was sustained.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): Here is a question that we have met continually, and we don't know how to decide it. Does that mean that it is left for each state to decide?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, they will have to decide for themselves. The states will have to decide, the party fixing the test of membership.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Will this require an additional referendum of the county or state?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is left to the states. That clause is lost.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): It seems to me some provision should be made in the constitution against the election

of any person to the National Committee of the Socialist party who has not been a member of the party for a certain specified time. It might also be provided in some way to cover our national ticket. At any rate, I propose as an amendment that no person shall be elected to the National Committee of the Socialist Party or nominated for any position on the national ticket unless he or she shall have been a member in good standing for a continuous period of one year or over.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I want to suggest a point about this. Suppose you have a new organization, that you are organized only a month——

DEL. WALSH: I raise a point of order. Aren't the committeemen elected by the states?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. WALSH: Then this is out of order, the same as the one as to a man holding a political office.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you raise the point of order, I shall rule that it is out of order.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I now move that we adopt the constitution as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): For information, I want to know if it would be too late, after this vote is taken, to move that the constitution be submitted to a referendum by sections.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, you can adopt it and then refer it if you wish.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): I believe there was an amendment handed in a few minutes ago by Delegate Saunders of Illinois, which the secretary has not read.

DEL. McHUGH (Mont.): I wish to move that the last part of Comrade Spargo's motion be adopted; that is, that nominees on the national ticket shall have been members of the party one year.

Motion not seconded.

Delegate Spargo moved the previous question, and the motion was seconded and carried.

The motion to adopt the constitution was then put and declared carried.

Delegate Titus raised a point of order that debate should have been permitted before putting the question on the previous question.

DEL. HANFORD: A point of order. I made a motion that we adopt the constitution as a whole. That motion was duly seconded. There were other comrades on the floor for various purposes. I then rose, was recognized by the Chair, and moved the previous question. That question was put to the members and a vote taken. We were then in a position where, if any one had at that time received recognition from the Chair, he would have been given three minutes' time.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I ask a question?

DEL. HANFORD: One moment; I am stating my point of order. No such speaker did rise and no such speaker was so recognized. The giving the floor to two, one on each side, is a privilege; it is not a compulsory matter. Not having arisen, we proceeded to vote, the vote was taken in due form, and we cannot go back of it without a motion to reconsider. The result was announced before the point was made. We don't compel people to talk three minutes on any question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule the point of order of Comrade Hanford well taken.

DEL. TITUS: I appeal.

DEL. MAILLY (in the chair): Shall the Chair be sustained? All in favor will say aye——

DEL. TITUS: I have a right to speak to the appeal.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. TITUS: Comrade Hanford is correct in all except one particular. It is not necessary and has not been the practice on this floor for a speaker who wishes to speak to address the Chair before the previous question is stated, but afterwards. Now, I have taken the usual course, and I demand the right to speak on this question. The question before us has not been put.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: Oh, yes, it is carried.

DEL. TITUS: But it was carried after I addressed the Chair and was ready to speak, and he recognized me. I have appealed, and am stating the reasons for my appeal.

Upon vote the Chair was not sus-

tained. Delegate Stedman resumed the Chair.

A division was called for, but not insisted upon.

DEL. TITUS: I am opposed to adopting this constitution as a whole without an opportunity to submit another amendment. This is my amendment that I desire to submit when the opportunity is given. I do it because a speaker on this floor has proposed that there should be candidates endorsed by the Socialist party in sections where there is no organization of the Socialist party. I am wholly opposed to it, and my proposition is to prevent it, and provide that no candidates shall be endorsed by the Socialist party who are not members of the Socialist Party. (Applause.)

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): A point of order. I cannot see that that resolution doesn't cover substantially the same ground as the comrade's over here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL. TITUS: I appeal from that decision.

DEL. MAILLY (in the chair): State your appeal.

DEL. TITUS: My reason for the appeal is that in the constitution that we have adopted heretofore we have provided over and over again what state organizations shall do, and the Chair has no right to rule as he has done that I have no right to put in another provision of the same sort. We provide that all state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate. If the Chair's ruling is correct, we have no business to put that in; it is a violation of state autonomy. I protest against this railroading process. Let us go calmly.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Comrade Titus, I think, will remember that I stated to the convention that I was in doubt upon the proposition. And then I simply made a statement of the result of such a provision; an appeal was taken, and the convention decided it. I did it for this reason: That they had practically decided the question, and why should they adopt another such amendment? They had one amendment fixing the period of membership, and adopted it, and I stated to the convention at the time that I was in doubt, and the convention decided the parliamentary question. Now, then, your amendment comes as an amendment upon the question of the adoption of the report as a whole, after the previous question is called for. When the previous question is called for on the adoption of the report as a whole, the only thing you can do is either to adopt it or refuse to adopt it as a whole.

DEL TITUS: I want to refuse, so as to get it in shape.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: All right, then vote no.

Upon vote the Chair was not sustained.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN (resuming the chair): I am in doubt as to how to rule again, or what you wish to do.

DEL. TITUS: Am I in order in offering this amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, I will rule that an amendment is in order if it is seconded.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I desire to amend the amendment——

DEL. TITUS: I am willing to take any suggestions.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have a motion to make?

DEL. TITUS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please make it, and the secretary will record it.

DEL. TITUS: I am willing to do so, but I want it to express the sense I wish to convey.

DEL. CARR: We have had experience in our locality. I suggest two years be put in there, and then none of the politicians will drop into our locals

DEL. TITUS: Let it read that "No candidates shall be put forward by the Socialist party who are not members of the party and who have not been members of the party for a continuous period of one year, except in new locals."

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): A point of order. Here is an amendment introduced at a time while a member is speaking in favor of a motion, and the previous question is moved, and the ruling must necessarily be on the right to offer the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention

has decided that the Chair's ruling was wrong. We are entitled to receive the amendment, and it is before the convention.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): The Chair does not state the position correctly. The convention has decided against the Chair on his ruling that the comrade did not have the right to the floor to speak. We have not had this point before us that Comrade Gaylord now raises, and it is separate and distinct from the one that was raised by Comrade Titus. Comrade Titus raised the point that he was entitled to speak under the rule, but he did not raise the point that he had the right to submit an amendment to the motion upon which the previous question had been ordered, and I back up the second appeal. The point of order made by Comrade Gaylord was that it is too late to introduce any amendment. The previous question has been ordered, and there is nothing in order but two speakers, one for and one against, and then a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the point of order is well taken. But while I think the point of order is well taken, under the rule I do not think that when the previous question has been called for to adopt a report as a whole we can do anything except either accept or reject the report. I hold that amendment is out of order. If you wish you may appeal again.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of information. The information I desire, is this: As I now undertsand the position, if we desire to let Delegate Titus move his amendment it will be necessary to vote down the question upon this vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I want to talk against adopting this motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot do so. If you have a point of information or of order I will listen to it.

DEL. PARKS: We have a right to talk on the two sides of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, we have done so already. All in favor of adopting the constitution as a whole will signify it by saying aye; contrary, no.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of adopting the constitution as a whole will rise. All against adopting it as a whole will rise.

DEL. WEAVER (Cal.): This is a vote against, is it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, it is. The motion to adopt as a whole is lost.

DEL. TITUS: I move this amendment to our constitution: "No candidate shall be nominated by any subdivision of the party unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year; but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year."

Amendment seconded.

Delegate Simons (Ill.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SPEARS: I move as an amendment to the amendment——

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the previous question will signify it by saying aye. All opposed to the previous question will signify it by saying no. Carried.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I want to speak against that, for three minutes.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I desire to speak first.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report as a whole is before the convention. Comrade Hayes has the floor.

DEL. SIMONS: I will take the floor first.

DEL. HAYES: I am against adoption——

THE CHAIRMAN: This is on the amendment.

DEL. SPARGO: A question of privilege. I desire to ask the mover of that motion if, in order to cover the point that was evidently in mind, he will not include the words "or endorse," so that it shall read "nominate or endorse?"

DEL. TITUS: Yes.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I raise the point of order that a Socialist organization has no right to endorse anybody.

DEL. HAYES: I am opposed to the adoption of the amendment because I believe that is a matter that ought to be left to the states and locals themselves. In the state of Ohio, by reason of the fact that municipal elections have been abolished in most of the cities, we would have probably forty

or fifty officials to be elected, which means that many of the locals will be unable to fill their tickets with candidates to be placed in the field at the coming election. We do not want to go into the field with a rag-tag and bob-tail ticket. We want to go into the field with a complete ticket from beginning to end, and if you leave this matter to the state organizations we can at least run affairs in a satisfactory manner without the meddling of the national organization. In the cities where we have put forth a great amount of energy and spent a great amount of time and money we have good locals. In the small towns they do not have sufficient membership—that is, have not had sufficient members within the last year—to place tickets in the field. Now, then, when they come in, say after six months, although they may have voted the ticket much longer, under this amendment we cannot place them on the ticket, although we know that they are class-conscious Socialists and all-wool, yard-wide Socialists, and understand Marx in the original. I do not know why a man who has been in the Socialist movement twenty years understands much more about it than some man who has been in it only one year. For that reason I am opposed to the measure.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): I take the opposite side from Comrade Hayes, from personal experience, both in this state and in the state of Pennsylvania. I know it from experience in Pennsylvania especially. During the time of the strike in the anthracite fields we organized locals by the hundreds, and they put up tickets, and they put men on the tickets who did not know Socialism any more than a cow. That is why I object to any man or any woman going on the Socialist party ticket unless they have been in the party one year at least. It has been the ruination of the movement in Pennsylvania, putting people on the ticket who knew nothing about Socialism. We all know from experience that when men come into the Socialist movement they do not know much about the party tactics (applause), and we know that there are men that are always looking for political jobs, and those people who have friends in the little towns both in this state and in other states. If we go out and tell them that "You cannot get into political office until you are twelve months in our party," there will not be so many political ringsters working to get into our party. (Applause.) For that reason I hope that the amendment of Comrade Titus will pass here without a dissenting vote.

The question was called for. The motion being put on the amendment, it was declared carried. A division was called for, but on those in the affirmative rising, the division was waived.

A motion was then made to adopt the report as amended.

The question being put on the adoption of the constitution as amended, it was adopted.

The Referendum and the Constitution.

DEL. CARR: Did you not rule a while ago that it would not be too late after an adoption of the constitution to refer it to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: I so ruled.

DEL. CARR: I so move that the constitution be referred to the party to be voted upon, section by section. Seconded.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): We have sat here for a long time this week. We have considered this matter section by section when members tried their best to send it to people who knew something about these matters. Now it is adopted, and there is no way for the members at large to do but vote for the constitution. Now, the point is that if you do send it to a referendum to be voted upon by sections, you will find one section stricken out and another section will be carried, and they will be in conflict with each other. These comrades in voting at that time will have no opportunity for amendment, and after the constitution has been adopted questions will come up within the party because of the fact that something is in the constitution and something else is stricken out, and with the exception of mistakes and with the exception of new errors it will be a reiteration of this constitution as it stands.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move as an amendment to the last motion that the constitution shall be submitted to a referendum vote to be voted on as a whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: That has been carried, if I mistake not.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion was made at the previous session that the constitution should be referred to the members as a whole. This motion that is pending now is to refer it so that it can be taken up seriatim.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to say that the reason for making the recommendation at that time, and it was fully discussed at the time the report was originally made, was this: that if the constitution as a whole was voted down we have another instrument to fall back upon, and that is the present constitution, but if this constitution is voted upon by sections and part of it is thrown out and part of it is left, we remain without a working constitution. If the present constitution which is under consideration is not an improvement upon the old constitution from the standpoint of the members, we are at liberty to vote it down, and we have the old constitution; if on the other hand it is an improvement and if there should be some little flaw in it, we have provided for the amendment of any section at any time and its submission to a vote of the party.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): I do not think there is any danger whatever of this constitution being rejected on the referendum vote. There can be no danger whatever, because we do not make any additions to the constitution, we make them to our platform. The constitution is entirely sufficient. Leave it to a referendum vote and it will be safe. That is all I have to say.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): We want a constitution to go into this campaign with, and we need this constitution to go into effect at once in order that the direction of our party may be under the right constitution.

DEL. RICHARDSON: A point of order. A motion was formally made and entertained and adopted to refer this constitution to be voted on as a whole. No motion is in order except a motion to reconsider the vote.

The Chairman decided the point of order not well taken.

DEL. PARKS: Our constitution provides that a convention can amend the constitution, and I think that is a wise thing, because our constituencies have sent us here and entrusted us with the work of framing and adopting a constitution and platform for carrying on the party business. It will take a long time, forty-five days anyhow, to get a referendum and get this constitution adopted. We need the constitution, and we need it right now.

The previous question was moved and seconded. The Chairman put the question, but before announcing the result he called on the Secretary to read the motion.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to speak on this.

THE SECRETARY: The original motion is that the constitution be submitted to a referendum by sections.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion was to submit as a whole, and this motion is to submit seriatim.

DEL. TITUS: I am going to talk in favor of this motion to submit seriatim. The objection raised by Comrade Hillquit is based entirely upon the assumption that the membership of the party is stupid.

DEL. HILLQUIT: No.

DEL. TITUS: Yes. If we cannot trust the membership of the party to vote on this intelligently section by section, then our party is stupid. Do you suppose they are going to strike out an important section which will qualify some other section? They are not that stupid. There is no danger whatever when you give the party an opportunity to vote section by section, but there is danger in making it impossible for them to advance. If you are going back to the old constitution, it is a farce and you need not send it out at all. Suppose they want to vote against any single provision like the $1,500 salary, you give them a chance. Anyway, let the membership be trusted; you know you can trust the membership of this party. We have done it heretofore. They are jealous of their rights, and we have no business to take away their right to decide what constitution we shall work under.

DEL. STRICKLAND: Comrade Chairman, I think we are losing sight of the fact that the National Secretary in his report to us asked above everything else that we give to the National Committee a working constitution, and we cannot do that by carrying this motion to submit it seriatim.

DEL. TITUS: You can't do it any other way.

DEL. STRICKLAND: The only way that we can provide our National Committee with a working constitution soon is to submit this constitution as a whole or not submit it at all. You understand, comrades——

DEL. TITUS: May I ask a question?

DEL. STRICKLAND: Yes.

DEL. TITUS: Will it take any longer to submit it seriatim than the other way?

DEL. STRICKLAND: The result will be longer. The only way that we can be certain that we have a working constitution, and have it soon, is to submit it as we have already decided to submit it, as a whole.

DEL. PARKS: Don't submit it at all.

DEL. STRICKLAND: Well, don't submit it at all. In other words, the only way that we can provide our national organization with a working constitution is to vote down this motion and leave the matter where it is.

Several delegates called for a vote.

The motion to refer seriatim was put and lost. The motion to refer as a whole was then carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no further report from that committee the committee will be discharged.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to reconsider the vote by which it was moved to refer as a whole, in order to move that it be not referred at all, if necessary. The motion to refer as a whole is an absolute farce.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: How did you vote on the motion to refer as a whole?

DEL. CARR: I don't believe I was present.

The motion was declared out of order.

DEL. HAZLETT (Col.): In view of the fact that the delegates to this convention have refrained from smoking during the sessions of the convention, with much distress of mind to themselves, out of consideration for the lady delegates present on the floor, I wish to move that a vote of thanks be tendered to the delegates for such consideration.

The motion was seconded amid applause.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire on behalf of my friends, to say that we do not care for a vote of thanks; but I would like to move a counter-motion, that in view of the fact that we have refrained for six days or thereabouts from smoking, because they were opposed to smoking, that they now oblige us by smoking each their first cigar.

The Platform and the Referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection I will put both motions. All in favor of both motions will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. They are carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. I want to ask if the platform adopted by this convention is to be sent to a referendum vote of the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know. I was not the chairman the other day.

DEL. YOUNG (Md.): I move that it be referred to a referendum vote.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I declare that out of order, on this ground, that the motion should have been made immediately after the adoption of the report.

DEL. DALTON: Is that all the information you can furnish?

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no motion made to refer the platform.

DEL. DALTON: Then I make a motion that the platform of the Socialist party be referred to the membership of the Socialist Party for a vote, and I desire to speak on that.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule that out of order, because it was not made at the time it was before the convention.

DEL. DALTON: I take an appeal. The ground of the appeal is, that the referendum is a fundamental law of the party, that no chairman and no session of this convention can overthrow and smash that law without going to the rank and file of the party and asking them for their permission.

VICE CHAIRMAN WILKINS: The question before the house is the appeal of Comrade Dalton of Illinois from the ruling of the chair. All who sustain the chair will manifest it by saying aye. Contrary, no. The chair is in doubt.

A division was called for, and on a rising vote the chair was sustained by a vote of 62 to 37.

A Resolution on Marriage.

DEL. MAILLY: I ask leave to introduce the following resolution at this stage of the proceedings:

"Whereas, Socialists are accused of being opposed to marriage; and

"Whereas, since this convention has been in session two of its members, namely, A. A. Triller and Carrie L. Johnson, of Iowa, have been so inconsiderate of the feelings of the opponents of socialism as to become united in marriage; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that this convention of Socialists presents its congratulations to the comrades named, and wishes them a long and happy life and success in their united work for the cause."

The adoption of the resolution was moved and seconded, and the resolution was adopted with enthusiasm.

DEL. MAILLY: These are the final announcements we expect to make. You all know how our comrade Martin, my assistant in the National office, has attended to the viseing and certifying of the railroad certificates of the delegates. I thought it would be a matter of information to the delegates to state to them that the passenger agents who were present on Tuesday for the purpose of viseing the certificates for the railroad companies informed me personally that in all their years of experience, at no convention had the railroad certificates been presented to them in the order that Comrade Martin had presented them; and I take pleasure in making that announcement and citing it as a testimonial to the fact that Socialists know how to systematize their work. Second, we have had a stenographic report of this convention taken, and we expect to have the proceedings printed very soon and sold at a nominal cost to the membership, and we wish you to push the sale. We shall get it out as soon as possible.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Did I correctly understand the chair? Is anyone who voted for the referendum of the constitution as a whole in order in moving a reconsideration of that question?

THE CHAIRMAN: You did.

DEL. MILLS: Is it still in order to do that?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would not entertain the motion from anyone except one who voted in the affirmative.

DEL. MILLS: I voted in the affirmative. Is it still in order for anyone who voted in the affirmative to move to reconsider?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is.

DEL. MILLS: I wish to make a statement and a motion to that effect. Have I consent to do so?

Several delegates were heard to give consent.

DEL. MILLS: The statement I wish to make is to this effect: When the constitution is submitted as a whole I think there is no question about its being adopted. I am quite sure the comrades will agree with regard to the fact that if it were submitted so that they could vote on each section by itself, then there would be a point in submitting it to a referendum. But, as it is submitted as a whole, if it is put into immediate operation as a whole, the comrades will have exactly the same remedy in that case that they would in the other. If we have the vote on the referendum as a whole, that is the only way by which we can have the new constitution. If afterwards we find things that we want to amend we can amend them by referendum. If, on the other hand, we thought that it should take effect immediately on the adjournment of this convention, all of the comrades were then in a position of acting on the constitution, and at a saving of expense. In order to make a motion, then, that the constitution shall go into immediate effect, I move a reconsideration.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Jacobsen of Iowa, and was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the question on referring the constitution to the membership as a whole.

DEL. MILLS: I wish to make a motion now that the constitution go into immediate effect.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to refer the constitution to the members as a whole. That was carried. This motion was a motion to re-

consider, which brings up the original motion.

DEL. MILLS: Then I wish to make an amendment by substituting that the constitution go into immediate effect.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Weaver (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. DALTON Ill.): I am opposed to the constitution going into immediate effect, for this reason: I do not see how those who want the platform referred to the membership are going to have it referred if we adopt this constitution. Acting under the old constitution, there is a provision to that effect. Now, I know that there is considerable opposition to things that we have got in the platform, and there is no use bothering about it, but I want to tell you plainly that you cannot do any good unless you have a united party and a united sentiment back of it. No matter what we say about how wise we are here we are no wiser than we should be in our locals on these matters. If you get a vote of the membership on a referendum, no matter how good a platform you have, there will be some things that they will find fault with. Give them a chance at it. They may be intelligent, or they may be stupid, but we can never get above their intelligence.

DEL. WILKINS: I rise to a point of order. We are not considering any question concerning people's stupidity.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Comrade Dalton will proceed in order. We are not discussing the question of platform, only the reference of the platform.

DEL. DALTON: I am discussing the question of a referendum of the constitution, and I have a right to cite in illustration anything which may be proper. I select the platform for that purpose. Am I in order?

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed. You have got half a minute.

DEL. DALTON: Well, in that half minute I want to ask you men, will it not be wiser on our part to submit this platform and this constitution to a referendum of the party?

DEL. HILLQUIT: A point of order. The motion now before the house cannot be entertained for the reason that our present constitution provides that the constitution may be amended by a convention, subject to a referendum, and in view of the fact that we have not amended that clause as provided in the old constitution we have no alternative but to submit the present constitution to a referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was that constitution adopted through a referendum?

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes, it was adopted by referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken, and the question before the house is on referring the constitution as a whole to a referendum.

DEL. DALTON: A point of information. Will the Chair furnish the information now? Can we refer the platform according to what Comrade Hillquit says and according to your understanding?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the Chairman's view.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I understood Comrade Hillquit to say that the convention could not amend the constitution without submission to a referendum. But this is not a question of amendment of the old constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you raise a point of order?

DEL. WOODBEY: Yes. My point is that according to Comrade Hillquit's statement the convention cannot amend the constitution without submitting it to a referendum. But this is only a question of adopting a new constitution. There is a difference between the two.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. WOODBEY: I appeal from the decision of the chair on that point.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): May I read from the old constitution? Comrade Woodbey, if you will waive that just a moment I think we can settle this. Do I have your consent?

DEL. WOODBEY: Yes.

DEL. MILLS: The constitution reads, "this constitution may be amended at any national convention subject to a majority referendum vote of the party, or by referendum without such action of the convention," etc. I think the point of order is well made, and I submit the motion was out of order. Under the rule it must go to a referendum.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I understand that the motion before the house is on the referendum of the constitution to the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: This question was debated for about two hours the other day.

DEL. CARR: I move now to amend that this referendum be by sections.

The motion was seconded, and the question was called for.

DEL. HANFORD: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is this, that Comrade Mills' motion by which we come back to the referendum again is out of order. The whole thing is out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair rules that the question before the house is the motion which was brought into existence by the reconsideration, and that is to refer as a whole, and the comrade's amendment to refer seratim, which is now before the convention.

DEL. HANFORD: The question to refer as a whole, I claim, is now before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the amendment is before the house.

DEL. HANFORD: What is the amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is the amendment of Comrade Carr to refer seratim.

DEL. HANFORD: Yes. Now, what I want to get at is this: that the motion to refer as a whole is in order for the simple reason that the reference is provided for in the old constitution, and you have got to refer. How often shall we take this thing up, and how often shall we reconsider our action? Now, if we keep this up I am going to stay here, if I am the last man, and then I will elect myself Chairman and Secretary of this convention, and I will reconsider every act that has happened here when there were two-hundred delegates and I will be the party, for I can last as long as anybody.

At this point there was much confusion in the hall and the chairman rapped for order.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I would like to speak on the amendment.

DEL. MILLS: I rise to a point of order. The motion to submit seriatim has been already voted down, and cannot be discussed now. The only question before the house is the motion to reconsider, and I move the previous question on that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. PHELAN: I would like to have this constitution sent to a referendum in one form or another, and I am amazed at the delegates here putting so much obstruction in the way of its submission to the party membership, because I have here in my hand the platform that you adopted yesterday, without debate, in which we say that we believe in popular government and the initiative and referendum. (Applause.) And I submit that if you deny the membership of the Socialist party of the United States the right to vote upon that question you only insinuate that this statement here is a falsehood, with many other statements that I believe are false within this document.

DEL. WOODBEY: I rise to a point of order. It has already been moved to refer, and therefore there is nothing to refer.

DEL. CARR: Whether you do or do not send this to a referendum from this convention, it will be sent in one form or another.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I support the amendment of Comrade Carr for this reason: I do not consider the collective intelligence of this convention is greater than the collective intelligence of the entire Socialist Party. I do not consider that we have a right to deny the entire Socialist Party an opportunity to vote upon the entire Socialist constitution, and to vote upon it section by section, or an opportunity to vote for their amendment, or an opportunity to argue and discuss the different propositions pro and con between themselves. If we have a section in this constitution that will not get the endorsement of the party, then it ought not to be in the constitution. (Applause.) And, if we are afraid that we have put something in there that they will not endorse, then by all means let us give them an opportunity to vote upon that constitution.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): There has been no motion as yet for the previous question. I have got a story that I believe ought to be told right now, and I am going to tell it. I believe in the referendum. Let me tell you the

story. There was once a printer and he was setting up something from the copy. He called the foreman and said, "Foreman, that thing isn't quite right, is it?" The foreman looked at it and said, "Well, you follow copy." Just then a gust of wind came and took the copy out of the third-story window, and the printer said, "All right, here goes," and he followed the copy. There are men that would like to follow the principle of the referendum in exactly that same fashion. The comrade talks about collective intelligence. Collective intelligence is a good thing when you can focus it, but the intelligence of a collective body must be focused in order to be effective. It is not a question of how much collective intelligence there is in the Socialist Party compared with the collective intelligence of this body. This body was selected for a certain purpose and it is supposed to carry out that purpose. The provision is not made in the national constitution for referendum seriatim. Understand, that has gone once to a referendum. If they had believed always in the seriatim referendum and the referendum always is absolutely right, they would have provided at that time for a seriatim referendum every time. Why didn't they?

Delegate Strickland moved the previous question. Motion seconded and carried.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): I wish to speak on this question just to this effect. We are thinking of sending out this constitution to be voted upon, which I hope will be carried, seriatim, by the party, and until that is done it is feared that we shall have no constitution to work by. See here, comrades, we have got the great constitution of the Socialist Party of the world, and don't be afraid; the party won't go to pieces if we don't have a party constitution for a few weeks. I agree with the fine sentiments of the comrades that have spoken here today in support of democracy. I believe our cause is safer in the hands of the party as a whole than it is in the hands of a few excited delegates here this afternoon or any other time, and therefore I do hope, in conclusion, that you will see to it that you do this courtesy to the boys that could not be here and the girls that could not be here, to trust to their judgment and let this constitution go before them to be voted upon seriatim, and trust in their ability and intelligence to decide what they want in the constitution.

DEL. WOODBEY: It seems to me there don't need to be very much said about this. Remember this, now, that if this constitution goes before the people to be adopted seriatim and a material section of that constitution is knocked out, then we are at the expense of another referendum and without a constitution. Remember, now, because the old constitution will not be in effect.

A DELEGATE: Yes it will.

DEL. WOODBEY: Not at all. If the people who adopted the constitution without having it done seriatim had wanted it done that way they would have fixed it and made it mandatory in the old constitution that all things be submitted seriatim. It does not.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: Yes.

DEL. WOODBEY: The constitution does not provide anything of the kind. The constitution does not provide that we shall submit it seriatim, but it does say that it shall be submitted, mark you, and I think the people elected the delegates to this convention with the idea that the delegates have sense enough to adopt a sufficient constitution. I believe that the people will adopt the constitution as a whole. I believe another thing: That if, after this convention, we find ourselves after sixty days or three months without a constitution, that we might possibly get along. I am in favor of submission as a whole.

The question was then put on the amendment to submit the constitution to a referendum vote seriatim, and the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the provisions of the last constitution, endorsed by the members of the party, this constitution will go to them upon a referendum as a whole.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Under the head of new business, I move, in accordance with the resolution, that the national body issue credentials to Comrade Schluetter, of New York, to represent this party at the International Socialist Congress. Comrade Schleutter is the editor-in-chief of the New York "Volks Zeitung," and has been a member of the party for the last quarter of a century. He is well qualified to represent it at the congress, and he intends going.

DEL. HAYES (O.): I would like to include the name of Comrade Morris Hillquit in that motion.

The question was put on the issuance of credentials to Comrade Schleutter, and was carried.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I move that credentials be issued to Comrade Charles Kiehm of New Jersey.

DEL. HILLQUIT: He is a member of the party of New Jersey and is going to attend the International Congress. He has obtained credentials from the New Jersey State Convention, but under our rule today they would become nugatory. I know the comrade to be a good member of the party, and I second the nomination.

The question on the issuance of credentials to the New Jersey comrade was put and carried.

DEL. HAYES: I desire to put the name of Morris Hillquit before the convention, and move that credentials be issued to him.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DEL. MAILLY: We have voted credentials to three comrades to act as delegates. Under the action taken there are still seventeen.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I have a resolution. It is that as we have referred the state and municipal program to the National Committee, the National Committee shall within ninety days provide a state and municipal program for the instruction of the party membership.

The motion was seconded and carried.

As to a Campaign Committee.

DEL. DALTON: I move that the National Committee, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party be the Campaign Committee for the year 1904.

THE CHAIRMAN: You don't mean that for one moment.

DEL. DALTON: I said I did.

THE CHAIRMAN: I know you did, but do you mean for them to have the power and run the campaign as a general committee? It seems to me we should have at least one man from each state. Well, you have heard the motion that they constitute the Campaign Committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I make the point of order that this motion is out of order, for we have sent a new constitution to a referendum of the party and the Executive Committee does not exist.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that the point of order is not well taken.

A DELEGATE: He said the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You said both National and Executive Committee. Which do you mean? Do you mean the National Executive Committee or the National Committee?

DEL. DALTON: I mean the new Executive Committee.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. We are acting under working rules that we have adopted, which provide that this committee shall be elected. This motion provides that a committee not yet in existence or elected by this convention shall be the Campaign Committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to amend the motion of Comrade Dalton, that the affairs of the campaign be left to the National Secretary until such time as an executive committee is duly elected, whereupon the Executive Committee shall perform the functions of Campaign Committee during the campaign.

DEL. DALTON: I accept that amendment.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. That motion is based upon an assumption that the membership will endorse the constitution now to be submitted to them. If the membership should refuse to endorse the constitution the affairs of the present campaign will be left entirely in the hands of one man.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. MAILLY: In answer to Comrade Gaylord I will state that until the adoption of this constitution we had a constitution, the form that was in existence till this convention met. Under it committeemen were selected. Their term has not yet expired, as they were selected by referendum last year, and the National Committee now in existence under the present constitution can direct the National Secretary, so the affairs of the party are not in the hands of one man. He is still under the direction of the present National Committee until this constitution is endorsed by the membership.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I want to move as a substitute this: that the National Committee, or Executive Com-

mittee, if they so designate, constitute the campaign committee with power to add to its number.

The motion was seconded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The reason I do that is this: You may find one man in one location, and you may find five men in another adapted to the work of the national campaign. There must be a committee on press and printing, there must be a committee on literature, there must be some one to work out the routes of different speakers during the campaign, and you will find a hundred different things to think of. You will find one person qualified in one direction, and another person qualified in another direction. You combine the members with the various qualifications into the campaign committee. When the work of the campaign is closed the committee makes its report to the National Committee and goes out of existence. I am satisfied that will be the most effective method of conducting your national campaign. I state that from experience, and I have had twelve or fourteen years' experience.

DEL. MAILLY: I am sorry to take issue with the statement that the Executive Committee has power to add to its members. That might be advisable if we did not already have an office force in the national office. There are four persons in the national office. I do not see any necessity for the amendment, or the provision giving power to add. We have four persons in the national office already, and the work is gradually being subdivided, and I think a committee of seven or nine is large enough, so I favor the amendment with that provision excluded. I think Comrade Stedman will find, with the development of the campaign and with the present organized force in the office, that it is unnecessary to give it power to add.

The question on the substitute was then put and the substitute was lost.

The original motion as amended was then carried.

Delegate Waldhorst (Ala.) offered the following resolution, and moved its adoption:

Resolved, That this Convention request all unattached Socialists to file their names and residences with the respective State or the National Secretary, as the case may be.

That we instruct the National Secretary to have the Platform and such other printed matter in one little pamphlet for the use of the membership as quick as possible.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I move that this convention extend a vote of thanks to the secretaries and all the chairmen who have served during the sessions of this convention.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I move a vote of thanks to every delegate who has not risen to a point of order.

Motion seconded and carried.

DEL. MAHONEY (Conn.): I hope you will have patience while a delegate from Connecticut speaks. I will not take longer than necessary. It is not the fault of the Connecticut delegation that the Connecticut delegation has sat here in silence throughout this whole session. Let me tell you, comrades, it is not because we are not in the movement. We have been in the Socialist movement for seven or eight years, and we have been fighting the battle of the down-trodden class through the trades-union movement for the last fifteen or sixteen years, and I assure you that the Connecticut delegation has not sat here in silence for nothing. While they have sat in silence they have thought, and when they go back to their constituents in Connecticut they will be better able and better prepared to go before the public and fight for the emancipation of the dispossessed proletariat of Connecticut. Another thing I wish to say is this: As I have said, we sat silent representatives in an organization that stands for the overthrow of the system that is represented by rent, interest and profit. There has also been an illustrator of the rent, interest and profit system used in this convention, and that illustrator has become, in my estimation, historical. That silent illustrator of the capitalist system represented by rent, interest and profit, is Comrade Parks' stick. Comrade Parks' stick I wish to carry back to the Connecticut proletarians as a representative token of the silence of their delegates while in this convention. I therefore request that the convention request Comrade Parks to

present to the Connecticut delegation the historical stick.

Delegate Berlyn moved that the convention adjourn. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Strickland will close the meeting by leading us with the "Marseillaise."

There being no further business to transact, Delegate Strickland led in the singing of the "Marseillaise," and at 7:20 P. M. the convention adjourned sine die, with three cheers for Socialism.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

List of Delegates

Name.	Address.
ALABAMA.	
Waldhorst, F. X.	1016 S. 23d St., Birmingham.
ARKANSAS.	
Le Fevre, Dr. Wells	1409 W. Barraque St., Pine Bluff.
Penrose, Wm.	Medith.
CALIFORNIA.	
Cobb, John Lyman	Dos Palos.
Deutzman, Chas. P.	121 Eddy, U. S. Hotel, San Francisco.
Keller, Paul	Box 5, Santa Clara.
McKee, Harry M.	130 National Ave., San Diego.
Patton, John J.	490 N. Raymond Ave., Los Angeles.
Richardson, Noble A.	780 Fifth St., San Bernardino.
Weaver, Herman B.	535 Third St., Chico.
Wilkins, Bertha S.	725 S. Olive St., Los Angeles.
Wilkins, M. W.	Dimond.
Wilson, Jackson Stitt	Highland and Ridge Sts., Berkeley.
Woodbey, George W.	703 12th St., San Diego.
COLORADO.	
Ash, Wm. M.	Delta.
Floaten, A. H.	Telluride.
Hazlett, Ida Crouch	2137 Stout St., Denver.
Miller, Guy E.	
Southworth, Royal A.	420 Charles Bldg., Denver.
CONNECTICUT.	
Mahoney, Cornelius	173 Frank St., New Haven.
Toomey, Eugene	86 Cedar St., New Haven.
IDAHO.	
Ault, Erwin B.	526 Main St., Lewiston.
ILLINOIS.	
Berlyn, Bernard	662 E. 63d St., Chicago.
Block, Samuel	1010 Jefferson Ave., Peoria.
Breckon, Chas. L.	673 Burling St., Chicago.
Brower, James H.	380 North St., Elgin.
Carr, Edward E.	134 Vermilion St., Danville.
Collins, John	579 W. Huron St., Chicago.
Dalton, Wm. S.	39th St. and Langley Ave., Chicago.
McEachern, Duncan B.	1839 92d Place, Chicago.
Mance, A. W.	283 Wells St., Chicago.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Meyer, Theodore .....226 Ontario St., Chicago.
Morgan, Thomas J.....79 Dearborn St., Chicago.
Phelan, J. E.....
Smith, D. M.....6419 Jackson Ave., Chicago.
Smith, Jas. S.....318 W. Madison St., Chicago.
Simons, Alzie M.....227 16th Ave., Melrose Park.
Stedman, Seymour .....519 E. 66th St., Chicago.
Taft, Marcus H.....99 Randolph St., Chicago.
Untermann, Ernest .....Lombard.

INDIANA.

Barrett, Wm. .....524 E. Washington St., Indianapolis.
Debs, Eugene V.....451 N. 8th St., Terre Haute.
Gridley, Albert T.....60 Harrison St., Aurora.
Hollenberger, Matt.....1531 Law Ave., Evansville.
Oneal, James .....269 Boylston Bldg., Chicago.
Reynolds, Stephen M.....1115 S. 6th St., Terre Haute.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Whitelatch, Wm. T.....Durant.

IOWA.

Bennett, John W.....107 Market St., Sioux City.
Jacobsen, Jno. J.....1129 12th St., Des Moines.
Johnson, Carrie L.....295 6th St., Dubuque.
Work, John M.....1313 Harrison Ave., Des Moines.

KANSAS.

Cogswell, Eleanore G.....708 Bluff St., Rosedale.
Kraybill, Luella R.....105 E. New St., Coffeyville.
Mills, Walter Thomas.....Box 405, Kansas City, Mo.
Neal, Wm. S.....Udall.
Parks, Wade R.....Bonita.
Will, Thomas Elmer.....207-9 Sedgwick Block, Wichita.

KENTUCKY.

McGrady, Thomas .....319 Poplar St., Bellevue.
Markert, F. R.....2526 Duneau St.
Nagel, Adam L.....506 E. 3d St., Newport.
Robinson, Frank L.....709 First St., Louisville.

LOUISIANA.

Putnam, Wilbur .....Evangeline.

MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Toole, Wm. A.....136 Gitting St., Baltimore, Md.
Young, Sylvester, L. V.....334 S. Locust St., Hagerstown, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Carey, James F.....Haverhill.
Brandt, Herman .....73 Avon St., Malden.
Gibbs, Howard A.....46 Abbott St., Worcester.
Hayman, Alexander .....2 Proctor St., Haverhill.
Kelly, John J.....62 Grattan St., Chicopee Falls.
Keown, James A.....23 Ireson St., Lynn.
Littlefield, Geo. E.....Westwood.
Outram, Alfred B.....150 Poplar St., Chelsea.
White, Dan A.....13 Crowell St., Brocton.

MICHIGAN.

Benessi, Wm. L.....746 Portage St., Kalamazoo.
Lamb, Clayton J.....Dryden.
McFarlan, Jas. H.....726 Church St., Flint.
Menton, John A. C.....1323 S. Saginaw St., Flint.
Walter, Wm. E.....

MINNESOTA.

Brantland, M. A.....Ada.
Bosky, Edward .....512 S. Minnesota, New Ulm.
Ford, Edwin B.....314 Central Ave., Faribault.
Gilbertson, A. N.....Willmar.
Holman, S. M.....11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis.
Klein, Nicholas .....Wrenshall.
Leonard, Geo. B.....535 Andrews Bldg., Minneapolis.
Lucas, Thos. H.....348 Kent St., St. Paul.

MISSOURI.

Behrens, E. T.....1200 E. 3d St., Sedalia.
Brandt, W. M.....319 Walnut St., St. Louis.
Dilno, Fred H.....206 N. 13th St., St. Louis.
Garver, Wm. L.....Chillicothe.
Hoehn, G. A.....324 Chestnut St., St. Louis.
Knecht, Carl .....230 S. Main, Poplar Bluff.
Lipscomb, Caleb .....Liberal.
Palmer, T. E.....1220 Holmes St., Kansas City.
Turner, Geo. H.....14 Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Raible, Hugh J.....634 Main St., Jasper.
Rathbun, John H.....910 S. Missouri Ave., Sedalia.

MISSISSIPPI.

Rose, Sumner W.....Biloxi.

MONTANA.

Hirt, John .....1025 5th Ave., S., Great Falls.
McHugh, C. C.....City Hall, Anaconda.
O'Malley, Malcolm G.....746 Maryland Ave., Butte.
Walsh, John H.....Lewistown.

NEBRASKA.

Clark, Wm. E.....269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Hawkins, J. W.....519 N. 16th, Omaha.
Hyland, Patrick J.....4014 Decatur St., Omaha.
Mailly, Wm. .....269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Murray, James S.....Concord.

NEW JERSEY.

Burrowes, Peter E.....622 Chestnut St., Arlington.
Glanz, Wm. .....68 Lyon St., Patterson.
Kronenberg, Carl .....128 Congress St., Jersey City.
Oswald, Walter L.....37 Locust Ave., Arlington.
Ufert, Chas. .....590 Clinton Ave., West Hoboken.
Reilly, James M.....285 Barrow St., Jersey City.
Rubinow, David .....67 Congress St., Newark.
Strobell, G. H.....44 Hill St., Newark.

NEW YORK.

Atkinson, Warren .....122 Ft. Green Place, Brooklyn.
Bush, C. P.....Falconeer.
Butscher, Wm. .....279 Hooper St., Brooklyn.
Curtis, A. L. Byron.....4 St. Joseph's Place, Rome.
Dobbs, Charles .....36 E. 23d St., New York.
Ehret, Wm. .....1580 First Ave., New York.
Flanagan, Peter J.....36 Somers St., Brooklyn.
Gerber, Julius .....461 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn.
Hanford, Ben.....781 Marcy Ave., Brooklyn.
Herron, Geo. D.....59 W. 45th St., New York.
Hillquitt, Morris .....67 W. 131st St., New York.

NEW YORK—Continned.

Jonas, Alexander .....223 E. 18th St., New York.
Lee, Algernon .....3 W. 115th St., New York.
Dressler, Gustave .....1507 Washington Ave., New York.
Sieverman, Frank A.....184 Wilkin St., Rochester.
Slobodin, Henry L.....60 Second Ave., New York.
Spargo, John .....610 E. 84th St., New York.
Wegener, Otto .....11 Cooper Square, New York.
Wessling, H. W.....164 Locust Ave., New Rochelle.
Mayell, Alfred A.....220 E. 52d St., New York.
Wilshire, Gaylord .....Cor. Bdy. & 77th, Hotel Belleclaire,N.Y.
Hawley, C. P.....

NORTH DAKOTA.

Haight, S. E.....Osnabrock.
Thams, Tonnes .....320 8th St., Fargo.

OHIO.

Bandlow, Robert .....33 Gladstone St., Cleveland.
Bickett, Charles A.....2211 Marquis St., Cincinnati.
Farrell, Daniel P.....568 W. 4th St., Dayton.
Goss, Martin .....233 Wilson St., Newark.
Hayes, Max S.....193 Champlain St., Cleveland.
Stanton, W. A.....427 12th St., Toledo.
Webster, Warner L.....32 Woodlawn Ave., Cleveland.
Willey, Charles E.....627 Erie St., Youngstown.
Zorn, Julius .....109 Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA.

Hays, Roy .....Goodnight.
Kolachny, Jas. V.....Hennessey.
Loudermilk, A. S.....520 E. Wade St., El Reno.
Renshaw, Achilles W.....Hennessey.
Snyder, J. E.....Skedee.

OREGON.

Smith, Irene M.....1115 N. 5th St., Tacoma, Wash.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Ayres, Hugh G.....712 Church St., Royersford.
Barnes, J. Mahlon .....232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia.
Bacon, Geo. W.....13 E. Market St., York.
Forbes, Miss S. Innes.....901 Pine St., Philadelphia.
Goaziou, Louis .....730 Washington Ave., Charleroi.
Heydrick, Charles .....631 State St., Erie.
Gagliardi, Frank .....Box 101, Belle Vernon.
Maurer, James M.....1516 N. 10th St., Reading.
Moore, Edward .....3462 N. Water St., Philadelphia.
Ringler, Robert B.....347 Spence St., Reading.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Knowles, Freeman .....50 Van Buren St., Deadwood.
Potter, O. C.....Sioux Falls.

TENNESSEE.

Stockell, Chas. H.....602½ Church St., Nashville.

TEXAS.

Kerrigan, John .....346 Elm St., Dallas.
Langworthy, R. O.....608 Virginia Ave., San Antonio.
Latham, Ernest B.....719 E. California St., Gainesville.

WASHINGTON.

Lund, O. .....Merchants' Hotel, Spokane.
Titus, Hermon F.....2003 2nd Ave., Seattle.

WISCONSIN.

Ammann, Henry J.....Kiel.
Berger, Victor L.....344 6th St., Milwaukee.
Bistorius, H. W.....516 2d Ave., Milwaukee.
Born, Jacob W.....604 State St., Racine.
Cross, Ira B.....511 Francis St., Madison.
Gaylord, Winfield R.....1632 Meinecke Ave., Milwaukee.
Heath, Frederick .....344 6th St., Milwaukee.
Hunger, Jacob .....602 Chestnut St., Milwaukee.
Seidel, Emil .....1154 20th St., Milwaukee.
Spence, J. M. A.....417 S. Adams St., Green Bay.
Thomas, Elizabeth H.....344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

WYOMING.

Ott, Frederick W.....Laramie.

No. 2.

The National Platform

AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

I.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political instituitons to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depends. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their

own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

No. 3.

The National Constitution

AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION AND AFTERWARDS AMENDED AND ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.

Membership.

Section 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, who subscribes to the principles of the party, shall be eligible to membership in the Party.

Sec. 2. Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other political party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party.

Sec. 3. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer.

Sec. 4. No member of the party, in any state or territory, shall under any pretext, interfere with the regular or organized movement in any other state.

ARTICLE III.

Management.

Section 1. The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general vote of the party.

ARTICLE IV.

National Committee.

Section 1. Each Organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year.

Sec. 2. The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years. The members of the National Committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective states.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall meet in regular session once a year in all even-numbered years when no national convention of the party shall take place. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of members

of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall be determined by the National Committee.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

Sec. 5. Between the sessions of the National Committee, all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

Sec. 6. The National Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE V.

Duties and Powers of the National Committee.

Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions decided upon by the referendum of the party; to make reports to national conventions, and to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the Executive Committee. The National Committee shall also arrange the rules and order of business for all Conventions, subject to adoption or amendment by the Convention.

Sec. 2. The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

ARTICLE VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee, from the membership of the party; but no more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the members of the Executive Committee shall be one year.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the National Committee expressly reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee.

Sec. 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

Sec. 5. Between sessions of the Executive Committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

ARTICLE VII.

National Secretary.

Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee; his term of office shall be one year. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars annually.

Sec. 2. The National Secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the National office subject to the direction of the Executive Committee and the National Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of the local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the lecture bureau, the literature bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office.

Sec. 3. The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations, in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins containing

a report of the financial affairs of the Party, a summary of the conditions and the membership of the several states and territorial organizations, the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party, as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Sec. 4. The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of his office.

Sec. 5. The National Secretary may be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the National Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Lecture Bureau.

Section 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the National office a Lecture Bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism.

Sec. 2. The Lecture Bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization, and it shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

ARTICLE IX.

The Literature Bureau.

Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of socialist literature.

Sec. 2. The Literature Bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others, a stock of socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the Committee, to publish works on socialism or for the purposes of socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the Bureau to publish any periodical.

Sec. 3. The profits of the Literature Bureau shall go into the general funds of the party treasury.

ARTICLE X.

Conventions.

Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership.

Sec. 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing, provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

Sec. 5. Railroad fare of the delegates, going to and coming from the convention, shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

ARTICLE XI.

Referendum.

Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the National Secretary to a referendum of the party

membership, upon the request of twenty local organizations, in five or more states or territories, or any smaller number of local organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate.

Sec. 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for thirty days within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.

Sec. 5. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII.

State Organizations.

Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee, and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory may be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than one hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto; and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the National Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committees every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

Sec. 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Sec. 8. No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for candidate unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year; but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year.

ARTICLE XIII.

Headquarters.

Section 1. The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee.

ARTICLE XIV.

Amendments.

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

ARTICLE XV.

Time and Method of Taking Effect.

Section 1. This Constitution shall take effect, and be in force, from and after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership.

In voting upon this constitution members must vote upon it as a whole.

No. 4.

Report of Committee on State and Municipal Program

The following report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program was referred to the National Committee for revision, to be afterwards submitted to a referendum of the party:

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in Chicago, Ill., May, 1904:

Comrades: Your Committee on State and Municipal Program beg leave to submit the following report:

We wish first of all to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the members of the committee, but is the apparently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opinion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as otherwise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or binding upon the various state and municipal conventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situation.

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist Party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper preparation of state and municipal platforms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and transmitted a copy of them to the Committee on Constitution:

Whereas, The Committee on State and Municipal Program regard it as essential that the Socialist Party should have a permanent Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent Secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Committee on State and Municipal Program, recommend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent Secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and recommend that the following provisions become a part of the constitution of the party:

Section A. There shall be elected at each national convention a Committee of nine on State and Municipal Affairs.

Sec. B. The committee shall have power to fill vacancies occurring among its members during the interim between the meeting of the national conventions.

Sec. C. The object of the committee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, ordinances, bills and such other legal measures for the carrying out of the Socialist program as may be necessary, and also to advise the party, where it may desire, in the preparation of local and state programs.

Sec. D. The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

Sec. E. The expenses of the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the National Treasury.

STATE PROGRAM

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINOR PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR STATE PROGRAM.

The principles of the Socialist platform cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist Party is a minority party. The work of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realizing of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interests of the working class. In presenting and advocating such measures the Socialist members of the state legislatures and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Socialist Party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation. Socialists in state legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent Committee on State and Municipal Program provided by the national constitution of the Socialist Party.

The following suggestions are made as a preliminary basis for the activity of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are not mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students.

Free text-books for teachers and pupils; uniform text-books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools, and to private schools on request.

The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teachers and students in all institutions above the grade of high schools.

In history and economics, the proletarian standpoint to receive equal consideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsory education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.

Co-education in all branches of science, and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades.

Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnastics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for students of both sexes throughout all grades.

Extension of the public school system to assure equal educational opportunities to all classes in all branches of learning; public supervision of all educational institutions to secure an equal educational standard.

STATE MILITARY LAW.

The repeal of all militia law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities; and members of the state militia to be exempt from all other military service.

The right of privates of the state militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state limits.

Federal troops to be prohibited from interfering in disputes between capitalists and laborers.

CITIES.

The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.

PUBLIC WORKS.

For the purpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state to inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance.

The contract system to be abolished in all public works and such work to be done by the state directly.

OLD AGE PENSIONERS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be entitled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and maintenance of all sick and disabled persons.

TAXATION.

A graudated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed, such revenue to be used solely in the interest of the working class, not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor traffic.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS.

Railroad and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control, and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS.

The abolition of all court costs and sheriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last resort.

The establishment of free legal departments.

Sufficient courts to secure speedy trials.

PRISON SYSTEM.

The present brutal system of treating criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated confinement, and the substitution therefore of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful open-air employment, and treatment corresponding to modern scientific psychological pathology.

SUFFRAGE

The right to vote not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor.

Women to have equal political rights with men.

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight hour day and a minimum wage, uniform for both sexes.

Free state employment agencies.

All specific laws detrimental to the working class to be repealed, such as conspircy, anti-boycott and anti-picketing laws; and the abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes.

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty.

INSPECTION.

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor.

LAND.

All land held for speculation, and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of 10 per cent. on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.

All public forest and mining lands to be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open for use with public assistance.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and imperative mandate to be put into operation.

MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS WHILE THE PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Socialist representatives in municipal administration should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist municipal program. Under capitalism the municipalization of the public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be called municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned industries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in one of the three following ways:

First. All service absolutely free of cost to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of New Orleans.

Second. Service at cost production. Instance, the usual theory of water supply and of the United States postoffice.

Third. Service furnished at a profit to the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and playground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelligence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of livelihood for them, are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all and securing, as far as possible, the limitation of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of course, to make the victory of the working class more easy at every step.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

I.—CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION.

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.
2. Manual training (not trade schools) in all grades.
3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.

4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.
5. Establishment of vacation schools.
6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.—CHANGES AFFECTING TEACHING FORCE.

1. Adequate number of teachers (small classes in all schools).
2. Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching.
3. Right of trial for teachers before dismissal.
4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III.—CARE OF CHILDREN.

1. Uniform free text-books for all schools, public and private, on demand.
2. Free meals and clothing.
3. Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for contagion.

IV.—EQUIPMENT.

1. Arequate buildings, numerous, not too large.
2. Ample playgrounds, with physical instructor in charge.
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by teachers.
4. Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

I.—PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT.

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.
2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.
3. Pension for all city employes when sick and disabled.

II.—INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED FOR OWNERSHIP.

1. All industries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.
2. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaughter-houses where they are needed.

III.—MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY.

1. Municipal autonomy for the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.
2. Issuance of bonds for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.
3. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT.

1. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.
2. Free legal advice.
3. Abolition of fee system in all courts. Trial by jury without extra expense.
4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of municipal labor bureau for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor.

GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of useful works and extension of public functions to give work to unemployed.
2. Free medical service, including free medicine.
3. Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
4. Homes for aged and invalid.
5. Night lodgings for men out of employment and without homes.
6. Pensions for all public employes.
7. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases.
3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such other things as care of public health demands.
4. Adequate system of parks, public play-grounds and gymnasiums.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mercantile and industrial pursuits.
2. No child under 18 may be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.
2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be demanded.
3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ventilation and over-crowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the city—abolition of contract system.
2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.

TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be used solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middle class of taxation.
2. Taxation of ground rents.
3. Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes up to $2,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers of the city.
2. Publication of municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal activity.

The Committee: Ernest Untermann, Illinois, Chairman; John M. Work, Iowa, Secretary; Seymour Stedman, Illinois; Winfield R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; Luella R. Kraybill, Kansas; J. J. Kelley, Massachusetts; Warren Atkinson, New York.

No. 6.

Rules of the Convention

(Report of the Committee on Rules, after amendment and adoption by the Convention.)

1. A Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected at the commencement of each day's session.

2. A Secretary and two (2) Assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.

3. A Reading Clerk and one (1) Assistant shall be elected for the convention.

4. A Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant shall be appointed for the entire Convention.

5. Five (5) Pages and five (5) Messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

6. Four (4) Tellers and two (2) Judges to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.

7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected to consist of nine (9) members.

9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

10. A Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

11. The Standing Committee on Municipal Program appointed by the Indianapolis Convention shall report to the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

12. A Press Committee shall be appointed, to consist of five (5) members.

13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair, to stand unless objected to by the convention.

14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

15. A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

16. Discussions shall be limited to ten (10) minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak.

17. The sessions of the Convention shall begin at 9 a. m. and continue to 12 a. m., and from 1:30 p. m. to 5:30 p. m.; and a night session as soon as the reports of committees are ready or have been called for. The night sessions shall extend from 7:30 to 9:30.

18. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called for, three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before the question is put.

19. During the sessions of the Convention no smoking shall be allowed on the floor of the Convention.

20. Order of Business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the National Secretary.
3. Report of Local Quorum.
4. Report of the Committee on Platform.
5. Report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.
6. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
7. Nomination of Candidate for President.
8. Nomination of Candidate for Vice-President.
9. Report of Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau.
10. Election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress..
11. Report of Committee on Ways and Means.
12. Report of Auditing Committee.
13. Report of the Committee on Constitution.

21. All votes to be taken by ayes and nays, and, when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when asked for by majority.

22. Minority Report from the Committee on Rules.

No. 5.

Resolutions

ADOPTED, AFTER AMENDMENT, BY THE CONVENTION

ON THE COLORADO OUTRAGES.

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the only political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalistic rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

"Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organization of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

"Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

"At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended, with the result that in a so-called 'free state' of our so-called 'free republic' there exists a despotism greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

"Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage-working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of the government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been

unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

"Therefore, this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist Movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life which alone can free individual and collective man."

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

"Whereas, daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, the Socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication September 1st of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class.

Resolved that we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention assembled at Chicago, May 1st, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call, and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York Comrades having the enterprise in charge."

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese War as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

COMPENSATION OF SPEAKERS.

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-cut Socialism; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite pre-determined salary or fee."

REGULATION OF SPEAKERS.

"Whereas, exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and,

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents; and we

Recommend: That, as far as possible locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTION.

"The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party: The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this Convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the divisions of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist Principles."

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES.

Resolved, first: That this convention now proceed to the election of a delegate to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Amsterdam in August, 1904. Second: That the election of this delegate be by ballot, and that the candidate receiving the largest number of votes upon such ballot serve as delegate. Third: That this convention and the National Committee of the party shall be authorized to issue credentials for the attendance at the International Congress as delegates of the party, to such and as many additional members in good standing in the party, not exceeding twenty in all, as may apply for such credentials, intending to attend said Congress at their own expense. Fourth: That no state or local organization of the party shall issue credentials to delegates to the said International Congress. Fifth: That an alternate delegate be also selected."

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

"Resolved, That the Socialist Party recommends that party members donate during the month of June, 1904, one-half day's wages to the National Campaign Fund, one-third of the amount derived therefrom to be retained by the local, one-third by the state, and one-third by the national organization."

MISCELLANEOUS.

"Resolved, That this Convention request all unattached Socialists to file their names and residences with the respective State or the National Secretary, as the case may be.

That we instruct the National Secretary to have the Platform and such other printed matter in one little pamphlet for the use of the membership as quick as possible."

The Socialist Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

NATIONAL SECRETARY, - - - - WILLIAM MAILLY

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU:

63 Rue Heyvaert, Brussells, Belgium.

SECRETARY, - - - - - - VICTOR SERWY

National Committee

Alabama	B. Andrus	1108 N. 14th St., Birmingham.
Arizona	H. H. Keays	Groom Creek.
Arkansas	L. W. Lowry	2224 Ringo St., Little Rock.
California	N. A. Richardson	San Bernardino.
Colorado	A. H. Floaten	Basswood, Wis.
Connecticut	W. E. White	229 Exchange St., New Haven.
Florida	W. R. Healey	Longwood.
Idaho	C. F. Carter	Boise.
Illinois	B. Berlyn	662 E. 63d St., Chicago.
Indiana	S. M. Reynolds	1115 S. 6th St., Terre Haute.
Iowa	John M. Work	1313 Harrison Ave., Des Moines.
Kentucky	Chas. G. Towner	331 Scott St., Covington.
Kansas	Walter Thomas Mills	1429 Masonic Temple, Chicago.
Louisiana	Wilbur Putnam	Evangeline.
Maine	Chas. L. Fox	10 Free St., Portland.
Massachusetts	John C. Chase	64 E. 4th St., New York, N. Y.
Michigan	Wm. E. Walter	Hotel Irwin, Bad Axe, Mich.
Minnesota	S. M. Holman	11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis.
Missouri	Geo. H. Turner	14 Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Montana	J. F. Fox	71 E. Park St., Butte.
Nebraska	C. Christensen	Salida, Colo.
New Hampshire	M. H. O'Neil	4 C St., Nashua.
New Jersey	Chas. Ufert	590 Clinton Ave., W. Hoboken.
New York	Morris Hillquit	320 Broadway, New York City.
N. Dakota	Tonnes Thams	Fargo.
Ohio	Howard H. Caldwell	522 N. Summit St., Dayton.
Oklahoma	C. C. Halbrooks	203 N. Emporia Ave., Wichita, Kan.
Oregon	B. F. Ramp	Salem.
Pennsylvania	J. Mahlon Barnes	232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia.
S. Dakota	Samuel Lovett	Aberdeen.
Texas	John Kerrigan	346 Elm St., Dallas.
Vermont	John W. Arvidson	Rutland.
Washington	Geo. E. Boomer	Prosser.
Wisconsin	Victor L. Berger	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

State Secretaries

Alabama	F. X. Waldhorst	1016 S. 23d St., Birmingham.
Arkansas	E. W. Perrin	304 Scott St., Little Rock.
Arizona	Albert Ryan	Jerome.
California	Edgar B. Helfenstein	822 W. 2d St., Los Angeles.
Colorado	J. W. Martin	420 Charles Bldg., Denver.
Connecticut	A. B. Cornelius	Box 45, New Haven.
Florida	Wm. C. Green	Orlando.
Illinois	Jas. S. Smith	163 Randolph.
Indiana	Harry Hart	134 E. Washington St., Indianapolis.
Idaho	L. E. Workman	Boise.
Iowa	J. J. Jacobsen	1129 12th St., Des Moines.
Kansas	Thos. E. Will	Sedgwick Bldg., Wichita.
Kentucky	Walter Lanfersiek	506 Wash. Ave., Newport.
Louisiana	P. Aloysius Molyneaux	372 Walnut St., New Orleans.
Maine	W. E. Pelsey	Box 44, Lewiston.
Massachusetts	Fred E. Irish	699 Washington St., Boston.
Michigan	J. A. C. Menton	1323 S. Saginaw St., Flint.
Minnesota	J. E. Nash	45 S. 4th St., Minneapolis.
Missouri	T. E. Palmer	Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Montana	Wm. H. Pierce	708 S. Main St., Butte.
Nebraska	J. P. Roe	519 N. 16th St., Omaha.
New Hampshire	W. H. Wilkins	Box 521, Claremont.
New Jersey	W. B. Killingbeck	270 Main St., Orange.
New York	Henry L. Slobodin	64 E. 4th St., New York City.
North Dakota	T. R. C. Crowells	Fargo.
Ohio	Edward Gardner	318 Chappell St., Dayton.
Oklahoma	D. S. Landis	Stillwater.
Oregon	A. H. Axelson	1070 Union Ave., N., Portland.
Pennsylvania	Franklin H. Slick	1305 Arch St., Philadelphia.
Rhode Island	John W. Higgins	409 Webster Ave., Arlington.
South Dakota	Samuel Lovett	Aberdeen.
Texas	E. B. Latham	Box 126, Gainesville.
Vermont	John Anderson	106 Sumner St., Barre.
Washington	E. E. Martin	Box 717, Seattle.
West Virginia	F. A. Zimmerman (Acting)	McMechen.
Wisconsin	Miss E. H. Thomas	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

Socialist Vote in the United States

	1900.	1902		1900.	1902.
Alabama	928	2,312	Nebraska	823	3,157
Arizona	.....	519	Nevada	.....	.....
*Arkansas	27	27	New Hampshire	790	1,057
California	7,572	9,592	New Jersey	4,609	5,491
Colorado	684	7,360	New York	12,869	23,400
Connecticut	1,741	2,857	North Carolina	.....	.....
*Delaware	57	57	North Dakota	518	1,245
*Florida	603	603	Ohio	4,847	14,270
Georgia	.....	.....	Oklahoma	815	1,963
Idaho	.....	1,800	Oregon	1,494	3,532
Illinois	9,687	20,167	Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910
Indiana	2,374	7,134	Rhode Island	.....	.....
Iowa	2,742	6,360	South Carolina	.....	.....
Kansas	1,605	4,078	South Dakota	176	2,620
Kentucky	760	1,886	*Tennessee	410	410
Louisiana	.....	.....	Texas	1,846	3,513
Maine	878	1,974	Utah	717	2,927
*Maryland	908	908	*Vermont	371	371
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	*Virginia	225	225
Michigan	2,826	4,261	Washington	1,609	4,739
Minnesota	3,065	5,143	*West Virginia	286	286
Mississippi	.....	.....	Wisconsin	7,095	15,957
Missouri	6,128	5,335	Wyoming	.....	552
Montana	708	2,466	Total	98,424	225,903

In Arizona, Idaho and Wyoming the Socialist Party entered the political field for the first time in 1902. In the eight States marked with a star there were no State elections in 1902, and the vote for the national ticket in 1900 is carried forward for the latter year.

The Socialist Vote of the World

AUSTRIA.

1897	750,000
1900	600,000

BELGIUM.

1894	320,000
1900	463,000

DENMARK.

1872	268
1876	1,076
1881	1,689
1884	6,806
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,094
1895	31,872
1901	42,972
1903	55,479

FRANCE.

1887	47,000
1889	120,000
1893	440,000
1898	790,000
1900	880,000

GERMANY.

1867	30,000
1871	101,000
1874	351,952
1877	493,288
1878	437,158
1881	311,961
1884	549,990
1887	763,128
1890	1,427,298
1893	1,876,738
1898	2,113,073
1903	3,008,000

GREAT BRITAIN.

1895	55,000
1900	100,000

HOLLAND.

1901	39,000

ITALY.

1895	78,359
1897	120,000
1900	170,841

NORWAY.

1900	7,440
1903	24,779

SERVIA.

1895	50,000

SPAIN.

1891	5,000
1893	7,000
1898	20,000
1899	23,000
1901	25,000

SWITZERLAND.

1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,000

UNITED STATES.

1888	2,068
1892	21,512
1894	30,120
1895	34,869
1896	36,275
1897	55,550
1898	82,204
1900	98,424
1902	225,903

The Socialist Press in the United States

SOCIALIST PARTY PAPERS

ENGLISH WEEKLIES.

Alliance of the Rockies, The	420 Charles Bldg., Denver, Colo.
Appeal to Reason	Girard, Kan.
Chicago Socialist	163 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Common People, The	Stillwater, Okla.
Crisis, The	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Erie People	26 E. Fifth St., Erie, Pa.
Free Citizen, The	Danville, Ill.
Iowa Socialist	6th and Iowa Sts., Dubuque, Iowa.
Laramie Times	Laramie, Wyo.
Long Island Leader	Long Island, Kan.
Los Angeles Socialist	Los Angeles, Cal.
Montana News	Lewistown, Mont.
New Time, The	Spokane, Wash.
Prosser Record, The	Prosser, Wash.
Referendum, The	Faribault, Minn.
Social Democratic Herald, The	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Socialist, The	116 Virginia St., Seattle, Wash.
Worker, The	184 William St., New York, N. Y.

ENGLISH MONTHLIES.

Comrade, The	11 Cooper Square, New York, N. Y.
Grander Age, The	Biloxi, Miss.
International Socialist Review, The	56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Social Ethics	Wichita, Kan.
Socialist Review, The	724 Dodd St., West Hoboken, N. J.
Vanguard, The	Green Bay, Wis.
Wilshire's Magazine	125 E. 23d St., New York, N. Y.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

GERMAN.

Arbeiter Zeitung	22 North 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.
Die Wahrheit	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Neues Leben	119 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Tageblatt, The (Daily)	Philadelphia, Pa.
Vorwaerts, The	184 William St., New York, N. Y.
Volkzeitung, The (Daily)	184 William St., New York, N. Y.
Volksblatt	Sheboygan, Wis.

FRENCH.

L'Union des Travailleurs	Charleroi, Pa.

BOHEMIAN.

Spravedlnost	721 Allport St., Chicago, Ill.

ITALIAN.

Avanti	239 Washington St., Newark, N. J.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES—(Continued.)

JEWISH.

Forward .....183½ Division St., New York, N. Y.

NORWEGIAN.

Nye Normanden .....Tribune Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

POLISH.

Robotnik .....627 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SLAVONIC.

Glas. Svobode .....563 Throop St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST AND TRADES UNION PAPERS

American Labor Union Journal.....Haymarket Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Brauer Zeitung (English-German).....Odd Fellows Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland Citizen .....193 Champlain St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Courier-Herald .....174 S. Main St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Exponent, The .....121 N. Baum St., Saginaw, Mich.
Laborers' Journal .....Dayton, Ohio.
Miner's Magazine .....625 Mining Exch. Bldg., Denver, Colo.
Register, The .....Central City, S. D.
Toiler, The .....422 Ohio St., Terre Haute, Ind.
Union Sentinel .....214 Reed St., Reading, Pa.
Workers' Gazette .....203 South 13th St., Omaha, Neb.

Errata: Page 214, following should be recorded on Roll Call on Trades Union Resolution: Dalton, Mance, Meyer and Taft of Illinois, Ash of Colorado, Neal of Kansas, McFarlan and Walter of Michigan, Klein of Minnesota, Knecht of Missouri, Wilshire, Bush, Hawley, Riley of New York, Haight and Thams of North Dakota, Ammann of Wisconsin, not voting; Mayell of New York voting "yes."

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